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*A Guide to the Sculptures
in the Indian Museum*

The Græco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra



•The Buddha preaching

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

A
GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES
IN THE
INDIAN MUSEUM

PART II

The Græco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra

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DELHI: MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS
1937

PREFACE

This volume, which forms Part II of the *Guide to Sculptures*, furnishes an account of the Græco-Buddhist School as represented in the Gandhāra Room of the Indian Museum. For the convenience of visitors and to facilitate a systematic study, the sculptures of this gallery had to be re-arranged. The more important specimens have now been given prominence by the weeding out of useless duplicates ; and a number of interesting pieces, that remained hitherto unexhibited, have been put up for the first time.

The exhibits bear serial numbers (Nos. 1-412) which are noted in the Guide against the description of each. The plan followed in this Part is practically the same as that of Part I, excepting that it contains more detailed notes and bibliographical references to meet the requirements of the specialist. The findspots of the sculptures, as far as can be made out from the Museum records, are mentioned in the Numerical Index, while the principal sites of Gandhāra are shown in a map specially compiled from the maps of the Survey of India and from other sources.

In the compilation of this Guide, as also in the re-arrangement of the Gandhāra Gallery, I have received valuable assistance from Mr. Paresh Nath Bhattacharya, Assistant Curator, Archæological Section.

N. G. MAJUMDAR

INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

September 1936

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. A. R. . . Strong, Art in Ancient Rome
A. G. B. G. . . Foucher, L'Art Gréco-bouddhique du
Gandhāra
A. S. R. . . Archæological Survey Report
B. A. I. . . Grünwedel, Buddhist Art in India
B. B. A. . . Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art
Bu. . . . Buddhacharita
C. E. Ind. . . Grousset, Civilizations of the East—India
C. I. I. . . Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Dhamm. Comm. . . Dhammapada Commentary
Divy. . . . Divyāvadāna
E. I. S. . . Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture
J. A. S. B. . . Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
Lal. . . . Lalitavistara
L. G. S. . . Lawrence, Later Greek Sculpture
Mah. . . . Mahāvastu
R. L. S. B. . . Beal, Romantic Legend of the Śākyā
Buddha
Supp. Cat. . . . Bloch, Supplementary Catalogue of the
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A GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM

INTRODUCTORY

In the centre of the Gandhāra Room is a miniature **ARRANGEMENT OF SCULPTURES IN GANDHĀRA ROOM** votive stūpa, around which are free-standing show-cases forming a square with opening on the east and west. The showcases contain reliefs representing scenes from the *Jātakas*, or the previous existences of the Buddha Gautama (Śākyamuni), as well as those relating to his own life or last existence, and also architectural pieces and decorative sculptures which originally formed parts of stūpas and monasteries. Along with them are also displayed some select images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, including a few detached heads, in stone, stucco and terracotta, while larger figures are installed on masonry benches along the walls.

These sculptures represent a school commonly described by scholars as 'the Græco-Buddhist.'¹ It originated about the second century B.C. in 'Gandhāra', a name anciently applied to the Peshawar District and some adjacent territory. Two of its most important cities were Purushapura (Peshawar) and Pushkalāvati (Charsadda), while the Districts of Hazara and Rawalpindi, together with Taxila (ancient Takshashilā), were also sometimes

¹ For the Græco-Buddhist School see principally Foucher's *L'Art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, 2 vols., 1905-1922.

included in this province and came within its sphere of influence. The specimens of the Græco-Buddhist School exhibited in the Museum belong to its later phases, when the style had already become stereotyped and spread over a large area, including not only the North-West Frontier Province, but also Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, Afghanistan and Central Asia. The materials chiefly employed by the artists were a kind of soft bluish stone called clay-slate or schist, and also clay and stucco. The stone was quarried from the hills of Swat and Buner to the north of the Peshawar District, representing the ancient province of Udyāna.

HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

The characteristic 'Gandhāra style' was recognized for the first time in 1833-34 when a circular stone relief representing the Buddha was excavated by Dr. Gerard¹ near Kabul. It was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and subsequently deposited in the Indian Museum.² In 1848, and again in 1872-73, General A. Cunningham explored certain parts of Gandhāra, specially the site of Jamalgarhi near Mardan; and in 1876, the collection of sculpture he made there and also a few other pieces acquired by him at Sahribahlol, Takht-i-Bahi and Kharkai were presented to this Museum.³ Among other early presentations mention may be made of a

¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 362, 455 and Pl. XXVI, fig. 1.

² See below, p. 70 (No. 89).

³ Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Report*, Vol. V, pp. 197-202. The specimens of Cunningham's collection were described by Anderson in 1883 in his *Catalogue and Handbook*, Pt. I, pp. 198 ff.

number of fine stucco heads obtained by J. C. Delmerick¹ in 1870 from near Peshawar. These might have come from the Shah-ji-ki-dheri Stūpa, excavated years afterwards by the Archaeological Survey of India. In 1883, Major H. H. Cole² carried out certain excavations at Sanghao, twenty-two miles to the north of Mardan and made an interesting collection of sculptures and architectural pieces in its neighbourhood, from the ruined monasteries of Koi Tangi and Nathu. Some of these were presented by the Punjab Government in 1886; and in 1895-96, a large number of additions were made by A. E. Caddy,³ principally from a site known as Loriyan Tangai on the northern slope of the Shahkot Pass in the Swat Valley. In addition to these a few specimens were also received as loan in 1922-23 from the Archaeological Survey of India. They were excavated at Taxila, Sahribahlol, Charsadda and Takht-i-Bahi.

The Greek historian Herodotus records that the HISTORICAL Gandharians (the *Gandaroi*) supplied their contingent RETROSPECT to the army of the Persian Emperor Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. The people of Gandhāra are mentioned also among the subject nations in the Behistun inscription (519-511 B.C.) of Darius. Together with Bactria in Northern Afghanistan this province was incorporated in the Achæmenian Empire, and it was probably from here that Iranian influences penetrated into Gandhāra. The discovery of an

ACHÆMENIANS,
INDIANS AND
GREEKS

¹ *Procs. A. S. B.*, 1870, p. 217; Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-259.

² *Second Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1882-83*, Appendix I, pp. cxiv ff and Plates.

³ Bloch, *Supplementary Catalogue of the Archaeological Collection of the Indian Museum*, pp. 4 ff.

Achæmenian inscription in Taxila proves that Gandhāra came into intimate touch with the Iranian zone. Such motifs of the Early Indian School as the winged lions, human-headed bulls and the stepped merlons, some of which reappear in Gandhāra art, testify to this early contact. The Persian rule was supplanted by the Greek as a result of the conquest of Alexander the Great (325 B.C.). But the Greek supremacy over Gandhāra did not last long after his death. A treaty between Seleukos Nikator of Syria, one of Alexander's generals who succeeded to his Asiatic possessions, and the Indian king Chandragupta Maurya, concluded about 305 B.C., fixed the Hindukush as the limit of the Greek kingdom of Syria and brought Gandhāra within the dominions of the Maurya Emperor. The province so remained up to the time of his grandson Aśoka in whose inscriptions it figures as a frontier territory. About 205 B.C., Diodotos I, a Greek adventurer, made himself independent in Bactria, and about the same time another independent kingdom was founded in Parthia by Arsaces. With the decay of the sovereign power of the Mauryas and their successors, the outlying frontier provinces including Gandhāra gradually became absorbed in the Greek kingdom of Bactria in the second century B.C. From copper and silver coins the names of as many as thirty-three Greek kings have been recovered. These coins are thoroughly Hellenistic in style and execution, and the figures of kings and divinities appearing on them are characterized by features traditional of the Schools of Praxiteles and Lysippus.¹

¹ Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila* (1936), p. 29.

In Gandhāra, the Greeks were superseded by the SCYTHO-Sakas or Scythians (1st century B.C. and A.D.), a PARTHIANS AND nomadic horde from Central Asia. Maues, the first KUSHĀNS king of this dynasty and his immediate successors copied Greek coinage, but the figures on their issues lack freshness and animation, and the Greek qualities gradually fade away, making room for 'barbaro-Hellenic,' Indian and Iranian elements. The Indian deity Lakshmi, or her precursor, appears on the money of the Scythian king Azilises in the same form as on the Bharhut Railing, and Śiva with his bull appears on the coins of Gondopheres. On those of the latter and his family, who were probably of Parthian origin, there occur portraits of kings bearded and diademed, resembling the portrait heads of Parthian princes. The Scythians or Scytho-Parthians were driven out of their territory by the Yue-chi, another nomadic horde from Central Asia, in the first century A.D. The Kushān branch of the Yue-chi tribe under their king Kujula Kadphises took possession of Gandhāra and the Kabul Valley. The third king of this dynasty, the celebrated Kanishka, embraced Buddhism and became one of its greatest champions. But his coins, as well as those of his son Huvishka, are an eclectic series on which there occur figures not only of the Buddha but also of a host of deities of other religions, Zoroastrian, Hindu and Greek. The Sakas and the Kushāns, who were of Iranian stock, could hardly boast of a superior culture when they came out to India. They became necessarily the cultural debtors of the Hellenized Romans and the Indians with whom they entered into close relationship by trade and conquest.

The Kushāns held Gandhāra from the first century onwards, until the final extinction of their power by the White Huns or the Ephthalites who overran Northern India in the fifth century A.D.

**GANDHĀRA—A
MEETING GROUND
OF CIVILIZATIONS**

As its history shows, the province of Gandhāra, situated on the north-western fringes of India, naturally became the meeting ground of at least three civilizations—Indian, Greek and Iranian. The result was the birth of a hybrid culture that found its expression in an eclectic school of art, employing a technique unquestionably borrowed from the Greek and Roman masters, but modified according to Indian requirements. As proved by the latest discoveries in Afghanistan, Iranian influence found its way into Buddhist art on the frontiers of Central Asia, between the third and fifth centuries A.D., when the Sassanians were ruling over Bactria. Likewise, during the same period Iranian elements influenced the Buddhist art of Gandhāra, as in the earlier Achæmenian times.

**CLASSICAL
ELEMENTS IN
GANDHĀRA ART**

**DISCOVERIES IN
TAXILA**

The classical elements,¹ so characteristic of this art, are manifest in a variety of motifs and technical details. These elements, as we have already remarked, first appear on coins in the figures of kings and deities in the second century B.C., during the rule of the Greek kings of Bactria and India. But no Hellenistic sculpture or architectural specimen of this period has yet come to light. The earliest examples showing Hellenistic influence that have been discovered in Taxila² are probably not earlier than the first century B.C., when

¹ V. A. Smith, *J. A. S. B.*, 1889, Part I, pp. 107 ff; Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, pp. 229 ff and tome II, pp. 401 ff.

² Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 31.

the Scytho-Parthian dynasties had established themselves in Gandhāra. The examples include a temple with Ionic columns having a front porch, a sanctuary and a back porch as in classical temples, and a shrine with its façade decorated with Corinthian pilasters and pedimental fronts of Greek and Roman buildings. During the Kushān times, in Taxila, the Corinthian, or rather the modified Corinthian, capital is frequently met with, but the Ionic capital as well as the pedimental front is totally absent. Henceforth, throughout Gandhāra, in the majority of the buildings, the Corinthian capital becomes a regular feature, being very often treated also as a purely decorative motif. In the substitution of the Corinthian for the Ionic, and in the universal use of the former, we see a process that is in evidence also in Roman architecture, as in the temple of Apollo at Pompeii restored in the first century A.D., and in the temples of the age of Augustus generally. The Corinthian capital of the Gandhāra type seems to have been widely spread, as it appears in the monuments of Baalbek and Palmyra in distant Syria.¹ A close relationship to the Roman, rather than early Hellenistic, is indeed evidenced by the architecture of Gandhāra. Some of its capitals (as for instance those from Jamalgarhi) show detached flowers above the volutes and human figures (Buddha, etc.) amidst acanthus foliage. The former element is found at Palmyra (1st century A.D.) and the latter, in buildings of the period of Augustus and at the Baths of Caracalla (217 A.D.). Buddha figures in acanthus foliage in the

CORINTHIAN
CAPITAL

¹ Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, p. 234.

SOME TYPICAL
MOTIFS

details of Corinthian capitals occur again at Ahin Posh Stūpa in Jalālābād in Afghanistan. This Stūpa may be assigned to about the date of Sabina, wife of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), whose coins have been discovered among its foundation deposits.¹ Other examples of contact with Græco-Roman art are furnished by a number of motifs and patterns, borrowed alike by the Early Christian art of Western Asia and the Buddhist art of Gandhāra from this common source. There are the frieze of garland-bearers, the marine horse, the tritons and the marine deities, all having their close parallels in Græco-Roman art.² The undulating garland carried by boys in different poses is taken from a similar garland carried by Erotes or Cupids. A frieze of this pattern dating from the time of Constantine (307-37 A.D.) has often been cited as a parallel.³ The fine examples of bearded Atlantes with well-developed muscles from Jamalgarhi have been thought to be reminiscent of the Pergamene School. A bearded Silenus, supporting the stage of the Athens theatre⁴ (circa 1st century B.C.), may also be compared in this connection. Beardless and crude specimens of Atlantes from Gandhāra, which possess very little of the classical feeling, should be ascribed to the late Kushān or even the Gupta period. A well-known example of the classical influence is Vajrapāṇi, the thunderbolt-bearer, whose figure must have been copied from a Zeus, and often from a Herakles, an Eros, a Hermes or a

¹ Cf. Kennedy's remarks, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913, p. 372, n. 1 and pp. 377-78.

² Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, pp. 229 ff.

³ J. A. S. B., 1889, Pt. I, p. 167.

⁴ Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, Pl. 65 a.

Dionysos. This influence is also traceable in some of the figures of Pāñchika in which he is fashioned as an Alexandrian youth.¹ Another interesting parallel is afforded by some of the reliefs representing the birth of the Buddha. A female figure appears in these dressed in Hellenistic style, holding a palm branch in her left hand. She can be no other than the Victory goddess, as depicted on the Arch of Constantine. An earlier and a more apposite parallel occurs in a relief recently discovered at Dura-Europos in Syria (159 A.D.).² Some of the vine-stem patterns of Gandhāra also closely follow Graeco-Roman originals. A frieze in the Indian Museum (No. 174)³ shows a vine-stem knotted into five circles, each containing such motifs as a boy plucking grapes or a goat. This may be compared with a Palmyran example, as also with a representation on a sarcophagus from Sta-Costanza of the fourth century A.D.⁴ Lastly, mention may be made of the Bachchanalian groups: one such relief in the British Museum shows the exposed hind part of a female, who is seated slightly turning to the right. This has its exact analogy on a pedestal set up by Domitius (1st century B.C.), the grandfather of Nero.⁵ These parallels do not necessarily help us to determine the date of the Gandhāra School. But they do suggest

¹ Rene Grousset, *The Civilization of the East. India* (1932), p. 118.

² *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 31, 1935, p. 351, fig. 9.

³ V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (1911), p. 386. Cf. p. 114 below.

⁴ Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 134, fig. 77.

⁵ Lawrence, *L. G. S.*, Pl. 66.

that it was affiliated more to the Græco-Roman¹ than to the earlier Hellenistic phase which is illustrated almost solely by the finer class of the Indo-Greek coins.

SOURCES OF INFLUENCE

The classical influences that largely moulded the Buddhist art of Gandhāra in its later phases came from the eastern borders of the Roman Empire, as a result of the brisk intercourse established between Rome, Western Asia and India in the 1st century A.D. The first stream of influence might have come from Antioch, the chief Hellenistic city of Syria, during the reign of the Seleukid kings, and in this spread of Hellenism Bactria must have played a leading part. Later influences, operating during the Kushān period, probably came from Palmyra, Baalbek, Dura-Europos and other Greek colonies in Syria which flourished between the first and third centuries A.D.

TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF GANDHĀRA RELIEFS

The Græco-Roman origin of the art becomes evident also from a consideration of certain technical aspects of the reliefs illustrating the stories of the life and pre-births of the Buddha. The principal expedients adopted by the Græco-Roman artists in dealing with plastic form in relief, from first century B.C. onwards, are here fully utilized. A definite attempt is made towards the realization of the idea of perspective and to create a pictorial illusion in relief. The figures, when occurring in groups, are delineated on different planes. In the earlier examples the front rows of

¹ Rene Grousset is also of the opinion that the art is more Roman than Greek and he regards the Gandhāra School as the easternmost branch of Græco-Roman Art in Asia.—*C. E. Ind.*, pp. 110, 116. Cf. Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila* (1936), p. 33.

figures are fashioned almost in the round, while the back rows are left flat, so that they may not cast any shadows on the background. This is seen for instance in No. 99 illustrating the Buddha's decease. It is graded into no less than four different planes and the lower parts of the front row of figures are completely isolated from the background, although the upper parts are connected with it. The light and shade are so well controlled in this relief that it conveys the impression of a painting rather than a sculpture. The treatment of shadow in the reliefs of the Gandhāra School is particularly reminiscent of the Græco-Roman, for instance the reliefs on the Arch of Titus (about 80 A.D.).¹ The gateway of the city disposed of sideways, as appearing on this Arch, has its exact analogy in Gandhāra, for instance in our relief No. 2 representing the Dipaṅkara-Jātaka. Later examples of the School suffer greatly in depth: the gradation of the reliefs into different planes is poor and unconvincing, the front and back rows are all left flat, and as a rule high relief is not attempted in the compositions. This difference between the earlier and later reliefs may be realized if we compare Nos. 1 and 2 of the Museum, both depicting the Dipaṅkara story, of which the former is decidedly the earlier example.

The story of the Buddha's life, it need hardly be stated, was the principal theme of the Gandhāra BUDDHA IMAGE artists. It may be remembered in this connection that in the earlier Indian schools the Buddha is never represented in human form, his presence being indicated merely by symbols. In Gandhāra, however,

¹ Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, figs. 29, 30.

we are face to face with his human representations. The iconic Buddha type, which most probably evolved here and was in course of time adopted in Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, Java and other countries of Asia, furnishes again a vivid example of the classical influence. The head of the Gandhāra Buddha is fashioned like that of Apollo, and in the standing representations he is robed in a thick garment reaching below the knees. The right hand frequently projects out, balanced by a part of the garment, and the left hand hangs down clutching its hem. The folds of the cloth are indicated by horizontal and parallel curves in relief. This robe is so much like the Roman toga and is executed in a manner so much like it that there can hardly be a mistake as regards the origin. Such treatment of drapery with the characteristic folds, as well as the peculiar pose of the right hand, was common in the statuary of the last days of the Roman Republic,¹ and figures draped like the Buddha occur on the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus (13 B.C.).² This drapery style was borrowed also by Early Christian Art; a standing figure of Christ resembling the Gandhāra Buddha in drapery and pose appears on a fourth century sarcophagus from Constantinople.³ A similarly draped figure of a priest with his right hand projecting out of the robe is found also in a relief from Dura-Europos.⁴

¹ Cf. E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, Vol. I, pp. 102-3, figs. 105, 107-109.

² Lawrence, *L. G. S.*, Pl. 82.

³ Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 135-36 and Pl. XVI, 2; Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 182 and Pl. XXIX.

⁴ *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 31, 1935, p. 351, fig. 9.

The earliest datable representation of the Buddha occurs on a casket found inside the relic chamber at Bimāran in Afghanistan,¹ where it was deposited along with some freshly minted copper coins of Azes II (end of the 1st century B.C.) and an inscribed steatite vase.² Another datable, but later, representation appears on a casket from the Stūpa at Shāhji-ki-dherī, belonging to the reign of Kanishka.³ In this connection we have to take into account the finer technique and less debased style of the Buddha and other figures of Bimāran as compared to those of Shāhji-ki-dherī, and also certain archaic features in the palaeography of the Kharoshthī inscription on the steatite vase. The Bimāran figures have proportionate bodies, their drapery and features are in general well executed, and on the whole they make a nearer approach to Hellenistic prototypes than the dwarfish and stumpy figures on the Shāhji-ki-dherī casket. The ogee-shaped

¹ Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua* (1841), pp. 70-71.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 98.

³ Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. II, Pls. 140, 148. I may note here that there are several difficulties in assigning the Shāhji-ki-dherī casket to the time of Kanishka I. The Kushān king represented on the casket in relief in a band below the Buddha figure, who is supposed to be the royal donor, is without a beard, whereas Kanishka I, like his predecessors, has this feature uniformly on his coins. As representations of beardless Kushān kings appear on coins from the time of Huvishka onwards, the casket should be assigned to this period. The lotus-seat is also in favour of this supposition. In the earlier sculptures of Gandhāra, the Buddha has a lotus-seat only in the scene of the Great Miracle of Srāvasti. Later on it becomes universal, as for instance in the stucco figures, standing as well as seated, at Jaulian and Mohra Moradu in Taxila, which date from 4th-5th century A. D. But the Buddha figure on the casket does not represent the Great Miracle: his right hand is in the *abhayamudrā* and he holds in his left hand a round vessel. A consideration of the halo of the Buddha, which has lotus petal decoration along the edge, also leads to the same conclusion. This decoration appears on halos of sculptures of the later Kushān period.

arches, beneath which the Bimāran figures are made to stand, occur also on the façade of the shrine at Sirkap in Taxila of the Śaka-Palhava period. Not a single Buddha figure has yet been discovered that can be assigned to an earlier epoch. Indeed, the aureole or halo of the Gandhāra Buddhas, which represents a circle of light, the *prabhā-maṇḍala*, is not in favour of a date earlier than the first century B.C. Light emanating from the head of a deity in the form of a halo does not appear until about this time in classical art. In India, radiate figures of divinities occur on some of the later Indo-Greek coins, radiance being shown by a circular array of dots surrounding the head. This is very prominent in the figure of Artemis on the issues of the Scytho-Parthian king Maues (1st century B.C.). But a fully developed halo appears around the Buddha's head for the first time on the Bimāran casket, and next on the coins of the Kushān kings Kadaphes and Kanishka. All available evidence points therefore to the conclusion that the Gandhāra type of Buddha evolved prior to the time of Kanishka, but not prior to that of the Scytho-Parthian dynasties; so that tentatively we may place its origin in the first century B.C. There is no doubt that Buddha images began to be manufactured in larger numbers during the two centuries that followed when the Kushāns were ruling over Gandhāra.¹

¹ See Coomaraswamy, *Art Bulletin*, Vol. IX, No. 4—‘The Origin of the Buddha Image’ (1927). He upholds the theory that the Buddha figure evolved simultaneously in Gandhāra and Mathurā during the Kushān period. A similar view was taken also by Masumi Iwasaki in refutation of Foucher's theory that the Buddha image originated in Gandhāra.—*Kokka*, Vol. 30, No. 360 (May, 1920).

Side by side with images of the Buddha we find in **BODHISATTVAS** Gandhāra representations of a class of beings known as 'Bodhisattva' who do not appear in the earlier schools. Prince Gautama had to pass through innumerable existences in order to attain the stage of Enlightenment (*Buddhatva*). In all these stages, prior to his becoming a Buddha, he is to be regarded as a *Bodhisattva*—which means, 'one whose essence is perfect knowledge', or 'one whose intentions are fixed on perfect knowledge' i.e., 'who is on the way to Enlightenment'.¹ For the attainment of Buddhahood a Bodhisattva must practise the six virtues (*pāramitās*), viz., compassion (*karuṇā*), morality (*sīla*), patience (*kshanti*), energy (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*) and knowledge (*prajñā*). Besides Gautama, there are superhuman Bodhisattvas who are supposed to have very nearly attained the stage of Enlightenment. Prominent among them are Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśri, and Maitreya, the Future Messiah who like the Buddha is also destined to preach the Law.

The comparatively large number of Bodhisattva **BODHISATTVA** figures which Gandhāra art produced is quite in keeping with the importance attached to the career of a Bodhisattva (*Bodhisattva-charyā*) by the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism. The cult of Bodhisattva aims not at *Nirvāṇa* or final emancipation, but the good of the entire humanity. This no doubt served as a stimulus to the imagination of the Gandhāra artists, and equal, if not greater, emphasis was laid on the first part of the Buddha's life—on the acts and gestures of the

¹ Poussin, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, article on 'Bodhisattva.'

Buddha to be.¹ Thus Bodhisattvas including Gautama claimed increasing attention, and the distinguishing mark of the aureole they have in common with the Buddha shows that they were definitely given the position of divinities.

**TREATMENT OF
BODHISATTVA
FIGURES**

**DRAPERY, ORNA-
MENTS, ETC.**

'ANIMAL STYLE'

In the iconography of Gandhāra, as elsewhere, the Bodhisattvas are treated as a class of princely figures wearing elaborate ornaments. Some of their features, for instance, the muscular treatment of the body and the moustache, clearly point to foreign influence. Their drapery, however, consisting of a loin-cloth and a scarf, is quite in the Indian style, and shows hardly, if any, such influence, unless it be in the treatment of the folds. The delineation of the head, which almost always bears ornaments, is much more complicated than that of the Buddha. The remarkable variety of their head-dress and jewellery is well illustrated in our collection. The heads display in the case of figures without turban, wavy tresses descending on the two shoulders. Over these tresses adorns an ornament looking something like a tiara. Then there are the ear-ornaments, such as pendants, etc. Around the neck and breast are worn four different necklaces and chains of varying designs and sizes, one overlapping the other. The right arm bears a broad armlet; this is also worn on the left arm, but being under the scarf it can be seen only in outline. In the patterns of the jewellery we can often detect an 'animal style'.² Specially interesting are the head-ornaments showing

¹ Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome II, Part I, pp. 212-14.

² Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 1922, pp. 191-209.

two griffins, and the lion-head terminals and clasps of necklaces. It is possible that these animal motifs were borrowed from Iranian Central Asia which supplied similar ones (*e.g.* the dragon) to China, and to the Scythians of South Russia as well as their successors, the Sarmatians, in the first and second centuries A.D. Another equipment which these Bodhisattvas possess is a pair of sandals of the Grecian style, *i.e.*, open leather shoes with ornamental straps, but a few, and these are probably later examples, show knobbed wooden sandals (*kāshṭhapādukā*) of the Indian fashion. It should be noted that the Bodhisattvas never wear the peculiar shoes of the Kushān type, as represented in the well-known statue of Kanishka and on the coins of Kanishka and Vāsudeva, although the dress and jewellery of the images are presumably copied from those of contemporary local princes.

In later Mahāyāna iconography, the types of the DIFFERENTIATION OF BODHISATTVA TYPES Bodhisattvas, *e.g.*, Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, have all become fixed, they being recognizable from their respective attributes and different positions of hands and fingers (*mudrā*). The characterization of these divine beings can be traced to the Gandhāra School.¹ Some of the figures seated cross-legged in meditative pose, with hands placed on the lap, may be recognized as those of the Bodhisattva Gautama. The clue to the identification is furnished by certain representations of the Ploughing Scene or the First Meditation in which he appears in this pose.²

¹ Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 185 ff.

² Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, p. 342, fig. 175 and p. 345, fig. 176; *ibid.*, tome II, Pt. I, pp. 217-220 and fig. 413.

The jewelled flask or alabastron held by some of the Bodhisattvas suggests that they represent Maitreya who has frequently this attribute in later art and in the Gandhāra representations of the Seven Buddhas, e.g., in a relief found at Muhammad Nari.¹ Again in No. 91 from Loriyan Tangai described below, the Buddha is flanked by two seated Bodhisattvas, one of whom holding a manuscript may be identified with Mañjuśrī and the other carrying a bunch of flowers with Padmapāni or Avalokiteśvara.² Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara can be distinguished also by their coiffure and turban respectively.³ Maitreya, who does not wear a turban, has flowing locks frequently with a large loop above the head, not unlike the heads of some Græco-Roman statues of Apollo and Artemis. Avalokiteśvara on the other hand appears with a turban-like head-dress studded in front with a jewel.

GRÆCO-ROMAN
AFFINITIES

DATED
SCULPTURES

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to attempt a chronology of the products of the Gandhāra School, much less date any of the specimens with precision. Some of the sculptures no doubt bear inscriptions in Kharoshthī characters which mention certain specific years, as for instance the Buddha from Loriyan Tangai in this Museum (No. 254) dated in the year 318.⁴ But the era being unspecified in all cases there is no means of ascertaining as to how best these years should be equated. Another headless statue of the Buddha, which comes from Palatū Dherī

¹ Grünwedel, *B. A. I.*, p. 188.

² *Ibid.*, p. 203. See below, p. 67.

³ Spooner, *A. S. R.*, 1906-7, pp. 115-116. See below, p.

⁴ See below, p. 83.

in Hashtnagar and is now in the British Museum, is dated in the year 384, and an image of Hāritī from Skarah Dherī in the Lahore Museum¹ bears the date 291. The first two dates are referred by Foucher to the Seleukid era calculated from 312 B.C. and the last one which he takes to be 179, to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. According to him, therefore, the years 179, 318 and 384 are equivalent to 257, 6 and 72 A.D., respectively. Independently, the Skarah Dherī image must be assigned to a comparatively late date inasmuch as it represents a very much debased style. Judging from pedestals the other two sculptures have also to be regarded as illustrating a decadent style, although not as decadent as that of the Skarah Dherī image. On the Loriyan Tangai pedestal, Corinthian pilaster of a much conventionalized type is used as a motif of decoration, which shows that its date must necessarily be placed at least after the first quarter of the first century A.D., when pillars of the Corinthian order came to be recognized for the first time as a typical ornament in Roman architecture. Again, the writing on this pedestal presents features which preclude the possibility of its being regarded as a specimen of the Kharoshthī of the Pre-Kushān period. Under the circumstances it would seem reasonable to refer the year 318, as well as the years 291 and 384 to the Mālava era of 58 B. C., the

¹ Originally I followed Stratton, Boyer and Foucher in reading the dated portion of the Skarah Dherī inscription as *ekanaśitiśati-mae*, i.e. 'in 179' (*List of Kharoshthī Inscriptions*, No. 63). Fleet and Konow read *ekuna-chadusati-mae*, i.e., in 399 (cf. *Ccr. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 125 and Pl. XXIII, 8). But the fourth letter cannot be read as *cha*; it seems to be *va* *ti* cursively written and placed close together. The correct reading seems to be *ekanavati-du-śati-mae*, i.e., 'in 291'.

same reckoning that is presumably used in the Taxila inscriptions of the years 78, 134 and 136. The Loriyan Tangai image should accordingly be placed in the third century A.D.

CONSIDERATIONS
OF STYLE AND
TECHNIQUE

But the number of inscribed and dated pieces being limited we have eventually to fall back upon the evidence of style and technique in a chronological study. This task is made infinitely difficult by the intensely *stereotyped* character of the sculpture. What is possible, therefore, is only a broad classification, until we know more of the School and can study its examples in a stratified order in scientifically conducted excavations. Here we shall confine ourselves to the Buddha and Bodhisattva images and take note of only a few leading points. In some of the Buddhas we can recognize an idealistic tendency which consists in fashioning the head after the Apollo type,¹ while in others a realistic tendency which endows the figure with Indian features. It has been generally assumed, and not without reason, that sculptures showing the former tendency which preserves the Greek type² are older, although the practical application of this formula is rather difficult. An image of the Buddha from Takht-i-Bâhi in the Berlin Museum and another in the Guides' Mess at Mardan have often been cited as examples of this idealism.³

¹ Cf. p. 12 above. The separate tuft of hair hanging in front of the ears of early Buddha figures is a feature specially of Apollo. Cf. S. Reinach, *Têtes Antiques*, Pl. 241.

² Grünwedel, *B. A. I.*, pp. 164-165; Foucher, *B. B. A.*, pp. 120, 130.

³ René Grousset, *C. E., Ind.*, p. 120, where other examples are cited.

Both are typically Hellenistic in treatment, and in the opinion of Foucher, the sculpture from Mardan cannot be placed later than the first century B.C. The majority of sculptures of the early Kushān period discovered at Takht-i-Bāhi and other places conform more or less to the type represented by these specimens. Of this early type of images, however, there is hardly any in our collection. Most of the sculptures, as we shall see when we examine them in detail, are specimens of the later and transitional types. The history of Gandhāra sculpture is one of gradual Indianization, which set in about the third century A.D., a process that in the end practically overpowered and deadened the art. With the passing away of the Great Kushāns, the North-western artists, for want of patronage and lack of training, could neither follow the older artistic traditions, nor adapt themselves to the newer currents that were now moulding, transforming and enlivening Indian art. So far as stone sculpture is concerned, the Gandhāra School at this stage produced merely crude, lifeless and stereotyped copies of earlier examples. There are specimens in the Indian Museum (for instance, Nos. 365-372) which testify to the utter degradation that Gandhāra sculpture had attained probably about the fifth century A.D., and later, when in the interior of India sculpture and other plastic arts were passing through a glorious stage of efflorescence.

The process of Indianization occasionally led to the **TRANSITIONAL PHASE** development of such slim forms as those represented by the seated Buddhas, Nos. 334 and 336, and the standing Buddhas, Nos. 256, 257 and 337. They mark also a departure from the old Hellenistic prototype,

inasmuch as they show hardly any influence of the Apollo ideal. The comparatively smaller faces of these figures, instead of conveying an awe-inspiring serenity and proud grandeur, reveal a certain amount of weakness and lack of force, the aim of the artist evidently being to portray the influence of penance and asceticism over human body. These slim figures with minute faces may be said to mark the *transition* from the Kushān to the Gupta period and are probably not earlier than the third century A.D. Either along with, or at a date slightly earlier than these slim figures, which become later a feature of the sculpture of the Gupta period (e.g., at Sārnāth), are found also a class of stoutish and stumpy figures with faces unusually heavy and cumbrous. These latter are undoubtedly the work of the copyist, who failed to reproduce true Hellenism (e.g., No. 326). An early example of this tendency is perhaps the Buddha figure on the Shāhji-ki-ḍheri casket referred to already. In course of time changes have taken place also in the subsidiary iconographic details. Apropos of these changes we should take note of certain technical aspects concerning the treatment of the *halo*, *hair*, *drapery* and the *pedestals* of the figures.

HALO

The Buddha image at Mardan and the one from Takht-i-Bāhi in the Berlin Museum have a plain halo, from which it may be assumed that originally the halo was so treated. How decoration gradually came to occupy the entire field of the aureole can be best studied from the sculptures of the Kushān and Gupta periods from Mathurā and Sārnāth. A plain halo is not, however, necessarily an early feature, although a decorated one.

is indeed suggestive of a later date. In this collection there are several Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with decorated halos, the decoration consisting of either a row of triangles, or a simple wavy line, or a creeper, and the motifs in each case are disposed of in the form of a circle along the edge of the halo. The triangles have their prototype in the lotus petals, as on the halo behind the Buddha's head on the Shāhjī-ki-đherī casket. But in the angular treatment the pattern has lost much of its original character. The halo with triangular petals was prevalent in the Kabul Valley in a comparatively late period. It occurs for instance in the Buddha from Patava,¹ which marks the transition from the Kushān to the Gupta period, and also in the Sassano-Buddhist frescoes at Bamiyan.² The scallop-edged ornament on the halo of the Kushān and Gupta periods at Mathurā, Sāñchī and Sārnāth also seems to have developed out of the lotus petal, but it does not occur in Gandhāra. The triangular petal motif re-appears, though sporadically, in the Gupta period, in combination with other ornaments, as for instance, on the halo of a Buddha image in the circumambulatory passage of Stūpa 1 at Sāñchī.

The treatment of the hair of the Buddha shows **TREATMENT OF HAIR** generally two styles: either the locks are long and wavy, or the hair is made into a number of small schematic spirals. In both cases it is tied into a knot on the crown of the head. According to Foucher, the

¹ Rene Grousset, *C. E.*, *Ind.*, p. 122 and fig. 21.

² *Les Antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān* (1928), fig. 6 and Pl. XXI, b.

latter is a gradual transformation of the former, but Bachhofer¹ points out that both the styles were prevalent in Taxila side by side in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. These two styles also occur in Græco-Roman art, but the spiral treatment seems to have come into greater prominence from the 2nd century A.D. onwards.² There is no doubt that in India the spiral ultimately superseded the other style in the Gupta period, and was adopted also in countries outside India wherever Buddhism established itself.

DRAPERY

As regards the drapery of the Buddha who wears a long cloak (*saṅghāṭi*), we should note that it varies according to particular poses, or *mudrās*.³ The drapery folds in the earlier sculptures are in bold relief which, in the later ones, degenerate into line-engraving (cf. Nos. 333 and 331). Although this rule holds good generally, it should be remembered that the former technique must have been prevalent over a long period of time. It is, therefore, in many cases quite hazardous to distinguish earlier sculptures from later ones merely from this consideration. Stucco figures, which copy the details of stone work, show the folds in relief even down to the late period, but they are to be considered as a class apart. On the whole, the garment which the Buddha wears in later examples loses in volume and becomes attached to the body more closely, the effect being that of 'wet drapery.' The closely fitting, diaphanous robe of the

¹ *E. I. S.*, Vol. I, p. 106.

² Cf. the head of Emperor Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) in the British Museum. Walters, *Art of the Romans*, Pl. LXX.

³ Bachhofer (*E. I. S.*, Vol. I, p. 81) has failed to note these variations of drapery according to poses.

Gupta period, without any fold lines, is probably a refinement developed out of this process.

The pedestals of standing figures naturally differ PEDESTALS from those of seated ones. Of the former class, which are generally rectangular blocks, some show in low relief miniature figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, together with their attendant devotees, between two Corinthian pilasters, and also a flower on the two sides. On other specimens again, instead of these pilasters there are floral motifs covering the entire face of the pedestal ; these may be a series of eglantine, a honeysuckle or a lotus. There are yet other examples in which, instead of the socles, a lotus appears beneath the feet of the deity. In the case of seated figures block pedestals are rare, the seat being conceived of as a throne, which ordinarily resembles a stool with baluster-shaped legs, or legs simulating Corinthian pilasters ; or it is a *simhāsana*, *i.e.*, 'a throne supported by figures of lions.' In rare instances, a Bodhisattva is seated on a high wicker stool, richly decorated, which appears also at Mathurā.¹ In some sculptures again the deity is seated on a lotus made in two detachable portions, the top portion being the seed-capsule having a long stem morticed into the inverted petal portion below. The seat of the Buddha on the Shāhji-ki-ḍherī casket² conforms to this inverted lotus type. It may be assumed that the pedestals of standing figures were at first decorated, like the sarcophagi of the Antonine period (second

¹ Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XV (1930), Pl. XXXIV, b.

² See above, p. 13, n. 3.

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century A.D.) and like those of early Byzantine art,¹ with panels between Corinthian pilasters. At Charsadda, which has yielded fairly early specimens of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, block pedestals with Corinthian pilasters have been regularly found. The Loriyan Tangai pedestal bearing the date 318 is a later example of this type. Gradually, as the art becomes more and more Indianized, Corinthian pilasters disappear and floral motifs take their place (cf. No. 314, p. 90 below). Finally, a lotus is substituted for the entire pedestal, of standing as well as seated figures. This links, as it were, Gandhāra to Indian tradition which allows the distinction to divine and semi-divine beings, as for instance on the Bharhut Rail. The lotus-seat in Gandhāra was hitherto a special feature of the Buddha figures in the representation of the Great Miracle of Śrāvasti (cf. above, p. 13, note 3). It now becomes one of the common insignia of superhuman beings. This transformation is not unlike that of the throne of the goddess Ardochso on the Gupta coins, which is gradually replaced by a lotus-seat. It is important to note that lotus-seats are also a distinguishing feature of the late stucco figures, discovered at the sites of Mohra Moradu (*circa* fourth century) and Jaulian (*circa* fifth century) in Taxila.

PLACE OF GANDHĀRA SCHOOL IN ASIATIC ART

The Indian or local elements in Gandhāra art are many and varied, and there is no doubt that it is Indian to all intents and purposes. Nay, it may even be regarded as an offshoot of the Early Indian School as transformed by powerful extraneous influences. But we are hardly justified in placing its products side by

¹ Cf. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 139, fig. 79.

side with those of Bharhut and Sāñchī. In the majority of cases Gandhāra art would undoubtedly suffer by such comparison. It is the classical elements and the hybrid character for which this school will have a special interest of its own to the student of art. In this connection a well-known critic has observed : "It is obvious that the Gandhāra school, with its faces which are often weak and lacking in character, its conventional motives adapted to order, and, we may add, its commonplaces, cannot possibly be compared to the school of Sāñchi in sincerity of faith and emotion or spontaneity of inspiration, still less with the later schools of the Gupta and Pallava periods. But it would be a false interpretation of its nature to class it with the Indian schools. On the other hand, if we set it in its legitimate place, among the Hellenic schools, it cuts a most honourable figure there. Instead of putting the Gandhāra school in the shade by contrasting it with Gupta art, we should compare it with that of Alexandria, Pergamon, and the various schools of Romano-Asiatic or Romano-Syrian art, when it will assume its full value."¹ Thus although from the point of view of artistic qualities very few of the sculptures are really deserving of attention, yet the School, considering its importance from iconographic and other aspects, would certainly find a place of distinction in the history of Asiatic Art.

The Gandhāra School remained at the service of the END OF THE Buddhist Church for at least half a millenium, being SCHOOL

¹ René Grousset, *C. E., Ind.*, p. 119.

almost conterminous with the rule of the Śaka-Palhava- and Kushān kings. About the 3rd century A.D., it passed through a transitional phase, as witnessed in a number of images in the Indian Museum collection. Thereafter, the School, so far as stone-sculpture is concerned, began to steadily decline and a new school of art gradually took its place, which revealed itself chiefly in clay, stucco and terracotta.¹ This Later Gandhara School,² as we may call it, of which the best examples have been discovered in Taxila, at the sites of Jaulian, Mohra Moradu, etc. (4th-5th centuries A.D.), does not, however, seem to have continued for a long time. Its last stage may be said to have been reached when the devastating hordes of the Ephthalites or the White Huns swept over the North-West Frontier and the plains of the Punjab. At Taxila, in the latest deposits, which have yielded coins of the White Huns, the *Shāhi Jabulas*, definite signs of a conflagration have been discovered. About the middle of the seventh century, the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang testifies to the ruinous and deserted condition of the Buddhist *saṅghārāmas* of Gandhāra, which had been doubtless brought about by these inroads.

¹ See p. 110 below.

² This School has been called ' Indo-Afghan ' by Sir John Marshall.—*A Guide to Taxila*, 3rd Edition, 1936, pp. 33-34.

I. THE JĀTAKAS

In the Gandhāra Room the visitor should begin his **THE JĀTAKAS** study from the north-western corner where in a show-case are displayed reliefs representing the Jātakas, or 'the previous births' of the Buddha Gautama or Sākyamuni (Nos. 1-6). Such representations, it may be noted, are comparatively rare in Gandhāra art, for unlike the Early Schools it lays greater emphasis on the legends associated with his last existence. The Jātaka stories identified so far in this School are the *Śyāma-jātaka*, *Shaddanta-jātaka*, *Vessantara-jātaka*, *Śibi-jātaka*, *Rishyaśringa-jātaka* and the *Dīpankara-jātaka*. The last mentioned episode is illustrated by reliefs Nos. 1-4. There is also the relief No. 5 answering to the *Chandra-Kinnara-jātaka*,¹ recognized in this collection for the first time, while it includes relief No. 6, a rare illustration of the *Rishyaśringa-jātaka*.

The story of Dīpankara, which has reference to **DĪPAṄKARA-JĀTAKA** the penultimate existence of the Buddha, in which he was born as a Brahmin versed in the Vedas, is related both in the Pāli and Sanskrit texts. The Pāli version,² it should be noted, has no reference to the girl and her lotuses,³ two of the chief elements of

¹ Fausböll's *Jātaka Text*, Vol. IV, No. 485. See J. N. Banerji, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1934, p. 344 and Plate.

² The Pāli version is contained in the *Nidāna-kathā* and the *Buddhavamsa* (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Vol. I, pp. 3 ff.).

³ The Chinese version of the story based on the *Abhinishkramana-sūtra* also contains no reference to the girl and the lotuses (Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Śākyamuni Buddha*, p. 11).

the story as depicted in sculpture and as preserved in the Sanskrit version contained in the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mahāvastu*.¹ The Sanskrit version agrees more closely with the sculptural representations. The hero of the story appears as Sumedha in the Pāli texts, Megha in the *Mahāvastu* and as Sumati in the *Divyāvadāna*.

Divyāvadāna Version.—A king named Vāsava, on the conclusion of his twelve years' sacrifice, offered five 'great gifts' to Sumati, a young Brahmin who possessed the highest proficiency in the Vedas. These were a golden staff and a waterpot, a bed decorated with gold and jewels, five hundred *kārshāpana* coins and a bride bedecked with ornaments. Sumati accepted the first four, but not the bride, on the ground that he was a *Brahmachārin*. The girl herself struck with the personal charms of Sumati requested him to accept her as a bride, but even this offer he refused. She then, sore at heart, proceeded to the city of Dipāvatī, dedicated herself to the service of the god, and having taken off all the ornaments from her person made them over to a gardener, on his agreeing to supply her daily a number of blue lotuses for worship. Meanwhile, Sumati dreamt a series of wonderful dreams and approached a seer for interpretation. But he advised Sumati to go to the city of Dipāvatī and consult Dipaṅkara Buddha who was expected there shortly on a royal invitation. Sumati reached Dipāvatī on the day of Dipaṅkara's visit and found that elaborate arrangements were being made for his reception.

¹ *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 246 ff.; and *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, pp. 231 ff.

On the same day the girl went to the gardener as usual for her daily share of lotuses, but found that by the king's order all the flowers of the locality had already been collected and sent to him for the worship of Dipaṅkara. At that moment by a miracle seven lotuses blossomed in the gardener's tank. The girl had these plucked, put them into her water-jar, so that they might not be noticed by any officer of the king, and made for the city. Meanwhile, Sumati, who had developed a keen desire to worship Dipaṅkara, was moving from place to place in search of flowers, but not a single flower could be had anywhere. At last by chance he met the girl on the way, and due to his merit the lotuses suddenly came out of her water-jar and attracted his notice. Sumati now requested her to part with the flowers, accepting five hundred coins as the price. The girl, who had now her chance, said to Sumati, "You did not accept me then, and now you are asking these lotuses from me. I will not give you." Later, when she learnt that like herself he also wanted the flowers for the worship of Dipaṅkara, she relented and agreed to part with five, retaining two for herself, but this not for money. She insisted that Sumati must, at the time of offering the flowers to the Buddha, cherish a desire to have her in every future birth as his wife. This agreed, they came out to the road, just in time to catch a glimpse of Dipaṅkara as he was entering the city. But as a huge crowd had assembled, they were not able to get near him. Dipaṅkara by his supernatural power perceived this and immediately caused a heavy shower of rain. In the mêlée that followed, Sumati got an

opportunity to come near Dipaṅkara, and at once threw the five lotuses at him. The flowers instead of dropping on the ground remained steadfast in the air, forming a wheel-like canopy. The girl also threw her two lotuses, and these likewise remained fixed near the Buddha's ears. The road had now become full of mud as a result of the shower ; but Sumati forthwith spread his matted hair in front of Dipaṅkara to enable him to pass. Dipaṅkara placed his feet upon it and walked over,¹ predicting that in time Sumati would be born as the Buddha Śākyamuni for the benefit of mankind. As soon as this prediction was uttered, Sumati soared up in the heaven and in that position was seen by the people.

Mahāvastu Version.—According to this version Dipaṅkara was born as the son of a king named Archimat. After attaining Buddhahood he started for the city of Dipāvatī where his father was ruling, and arrangements were made by the king and his people to give him a grand reception. Meanwhile, a young Brahmin named Megha who was well-versed in the Vedas also arrived at Dipāvatī. On the way he met a girl who was carrying a jar of water and seven lotuses, from whom he learnt that Dipaṅkara Buddha was expected there shortly. She also told him that she had purchased five lotuses with five hundred *purāna* coins, and two more she had received gratis, and that these flowers were intended for the worship of the Buddha. Megha wanted to purchase the five

¹ This portion of the story agrees practically with that in the *Nidāna-kathā* and the Chinese version translated by Beal (*R. L. S.* B., p. 11).

lotuses from her in order to worship Dipaṅkara, and suggested to the girl that with the remaining two flowers she too could do the same. She agreed on condition that he would accept her as his wife in this as well as in all future births. Megha said that as he was to devote himself to the attainment of perfect knowledge, marriage was impossible. But subsequently he yielded for the sake of the lotuses, and having secured them he darted off. From a distance he saw the stately figure of Dipaṅkara Buddha approaching, and immediately the resolution arose in his mind : 'I too will become a Buddha.' Then as Dipaṅkara came near, Megha in ecstatic joy threw the five lotuses at him, which stuck to the circle of radiance around his face and remained there steady. The girl also did the same, and her two lotuses likewise remained fixed in the air. Forthwith Megha set aside his *kamandalu*, knelt down and began to brush the Buddha's feet with his locks of hair. Dipaṅkara, who by this time had perceived what a great store of merit Megha possessed, assured him that he would be reborn amongst the Śākyas at Kapilavastu and be known as Śākyamuni Buddha.

1-4.—No. 1 : At the extreme left of the relief is the girl, the future wife of Sumati, carrying a water-vessel under her arm and also a bunch of lotuses, and next to her is Sumati himself. He is seen first as purchasing the flowers, then as throwing them towards Dipaṅkara, and lastly as kneeling before the latter and laying hold of his feet. Dipaṅkara is seen as walking over his long locks of hair. Like the Buddha Śākyamuni,

Dīpañkara too is attended by Vajrapāṇi, the thunder-bolt-bearer, and among his other attendants the figure of a monk can be recognized. *No. 2* : It is very much damaged, but the flower girl standing at the city gate, the kneeling Sumati, the Buddha Dīpañkara and a monk are clear. There is a panel to the left containing a standing female figure under a tree, and further left is a seated figure holding a lance. Behind him is represented a building which evidently stands for a city. This panel may not have any connection with the story of Sumati and is possibly put in merely for decorative purposes. *No. 3* : In the centre, Dīpañkara stands in the attitude of offering protection. Forming an arch over his halo are the flowers thrown by Sumati, who is seen first as purchasing the flowers, next as throwing them into the air as offering, and finally as rising above and resting in the air in a sitting posture. Dīpañkara is followed by four monks and Vajrapāṇi. *No. 4* : Here again Sumati is throwing flowers at Dīpañkara, which appear fixed to his halo. Vajrapāṇi, who stands behind Dīpañkara, can be recognized from his muscular body and also from the traces of the thunderbolt held in his hand. The figures are much too worn out and damaged. No monk appears in this relief.

**CHANDRA-
KINNARA-JĀTAKA**

5.—In one of his previous births the Bodhisattva was born in the country of the Himalayas as a *kinnara* or a fairy, named Chandra. His wife was Chandrā and they dwelt together on a mountain called Chandraparvata or the Moon Mountain. Once upon a time the couple came down from their mountain abode, and were amusing themselves in a forest. The male fairy

began to play upon a flute¹ and his wife started singing and dancing. Just then it so happened that the king of Benares armed with weapons arrived there and espied them. At the sight of Chandrā he was so much stricken with love that he wanted to make her his wife after killing the husband. With this end in view the king from his concealment shot arrows at Chandra who immediately dropped down dead on the ground. But Chandrā moved Sakra by her moanings and through his grace her husband was restored to life. In the relief can be seen the two fairies Chandra and Chandrā by the side of a hill, the female dancing and the male playing on a lyre. Behind the hill a man is discharging an arrow from his bow, in whom we must recognize the king of Benares. In the right hand portion of the scene Chandra is lying prostrate with the lyre placed on the ground in front, and Chandrā is bemoaning her lot, seated near the head of her husband. She is being dragged from behind by a person, evidently the king (Pl. VI, a).

6.—This relief represents a curious and absurd RISHYASRİNGA-
story related in the Alambushā-Jātaka (Jātaka JĀTAKA
No. 523) which is depicted also on the Bharhut
Railing and labelled there as *Isisisinga-jātaka*, i.e.,
Rishyasringa-jātaka. A hermit, who was no other
than the Bodhisattva in one of his previous
births, was indirectly responsible for the conception
of a doe. She by merely grazing on a plot of land in
the hermitage where the hermit's excreta used to fall,
became pregnant and in time gave birth to a male child.

¹ The Jātaka text has *venu*, i.e., the flute, instead of the lyre which appears in the sculpture.

The child was brought up by the hermit with a father's affection, and afterwards became known as *Rishyaśriṅga*. In the relief we see the hermit and also the doe engaged in licking the ground.

II. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

Next in order, after the Jātaka scenes, are arranged THE BUDDHA in the showcases a long series of reliefs illustrating the STORY life story of the Buddha Gautama (Nos. 7-109). It has not been possible to arrange them in a strict order of sequence, and indeed we cannot be definite about the chronology of many of the events. Nevertheless, the reliefs form an interesting string of narratives, amplifying very often the accounts given in the various texts dealing with the Buddha's life.

7-10.—According to legends, the Bodhisattva DREAM OF MĀYĀ Gautama descended from the Tushita heaven in the AND ITS INTER- shape of a white elephant and entered the womb of MĀYĀDEVI, King Śuddhodana's wife, at Kapilavastu.¹ This constitutes the scene of Conception. In relief No. 7, the elephant, surrounded by a halo, is seen entering into the right side of the Queen. She is sleeping on a bed, and near her head stands a female attendant with a long staff in hand. Such female guards are of common occurrence in Gandhāra art. No. 8 consists of two panels, one representing MĀYĀ's Dream and the other, Interpretation of the Dream by the sage Asita (in the left half). The same two scenes are repeated in No. 9, and the Interpretation part of it in the fragmentary panel No. 10: The sage is seated on a stool and conversing with King Śuddhodana and his wife, in the Palace at Kapilavastu.

¹ *Buddhacharita*, I, 19-20; *Lalitavistara*, I, p. 55.

**DEPARTURE OF
MĀYĀ FROM
KAPILAVASTU**

11.—Queen Māyā is seen carried on a litter, escorted by a horseman. This evidently relates to the departure of Māyā from Kapilavastu for her father's place. In the course of the journey she visited the garden at Lumbinī where she was delivered of the Divine Child.

BIRTH

12-17.—In relief No. 12, Queen Māyā stands under a Šāla tree,¹ grasping one of its branches. She is attended by her sister Mahāprajāpati by whose side there is another female carrying a water-pot (*kamandalu*) in her right hand and something like a palm branch in her left. The god Śakra receives the Divine Child on a piece of cloth spread over his hands, and behind him is the god Brahmā. A drum, two flutes and a harp are depicted along the upper edge of the panel, symbolically representing the scene of rejoicing in the heavenly world at the time of the Nativity. In a panel above the arched edge of this scene there is a fragmentary Buddha figure in the teaching attitude with adoring disciples on either side. The Birth scene is depicted with occasional variations in relief Nos. 13-17. In No. 14 (Pl. VII, a) the child is seen first as emerging from the body of Queen Māyā and next as standing on the ground with the right hand raised in the attitude of *abhaya* (i.e., offering protection).² A point to be noted regarding No. 16 is that the female figure standing next to Mahāprajāpati wears a dress in Hellenistic style and holds a palm branch in her left

¹ This was a fig tree (*plaksha*) according to *Lal.*, I, pp. 82-83, which bent down of itself to make obeisance to the Bodhisattva.

² Evidently he is about to take the Seven Steps. Cf. *Lal.*, I, p. 83: *Bodhisattvo jātamātrah prithivyām-avatārati sma.*

hand to which there exist Graeco-Roman parallels.¹ The fly-whisk (*chāmara*) appearing in No. 14 is a symbol of royalty which indicates the future greatness of the new-born babe.²

18.—It consists of two fragments. The right half shows in the upper panel the head of a horse and in the lower, a man feeding a mare and a little colt sucking her, representing the birth of Kanṭhaka, the favourite horse of the Buddha. The left portion of the relief has the head of the horse in the upper panel, while the lower one contains the figure of an infant being bathed in a tub by a woman seated on a stool. This represents the birth of Chhandaka, the groom of Kanṭhaka. According to the legends both of them were born simultaneously at the time of the Buddha's Nativity.

19-20.—Bodhisattva Gautama is supposed to have taken seven steps in every direction soon after his birth and lotuses sprang up wherever he set his feet.³ This seems to be the theme of Nos. 19 and 20. In the latter, the figure of the child which stood under a tree (or umbrella) is missing. In the former, the child is seen standing under an umbrella.

21-22.—These panels show the bathing of the new-born child who stands on a stool. In No. 21 water is being poured on his head from two jars, held by Śakra and Brahmā.

¹ Cf. Victory holding palm branch on the Arch of Constantine (Strong, *A. A. R.*, Vol. II, p. 181, fig. 533). See above, p. 9.

² According to *Lal.*, I, p. 84, two fly-whisks and a jewel umbrella appeared miraculously in the heaven at the time of the birth.

³ The *Lalitavistara* and the *Buddhacharita* seem to place this event after the First Bath.

BIRTH OF
CHHANDAKA AND
KANṬHAKA

**BATH AND
RETURN TO KAPI-
LAVASTU**

23.—It is divided into three panels, the arrangement of which suggests that the narrative runs from right to left. First comes the Bath ; next, the return of Queen Māyā from Lumbinī in a bullock-cart with the child in her arms. Noteworthy is the figure standing in front of the cart that carries a trident-like staff. The third panel shows musicians before the city gate of Kapilavastu, welcoming the mother and the child.

**RETURN
TO KAPILAVASTU
AND PREDICTION
OF ASITA**

24-25.—No. 24 : The right lower panel shows the return of the queen from Lumbinī to Kapilavastu¹ in a litter (*sibikā*), in which the mother is seated with the child resting in her lap. The lower left panel shows the child in the lap of the sage Asita² who is predicting his future Buddhahood to the royal couple. No. 25 : This panel also relates to the prediction by the sage Asita, as in No. 24, but on a bigger scale. In a compartment behind the seated figure of Asita stands his nephew Naradatta, who accompanied him to Kapilavastu to see the Bodhisattva.³ Naradatta carries a bowl in his hand, which shows that he has already become a monk. This is quite in agreement with the account given in the *Nidānakathā*⁴ according to which Asita after he had been to the Bodhisattva asked his nephew Nalaka (another name for Naradatta) to renounce the world immediately, whereupon the latter got the necessary equipment of a monk including an earthen begging bowl from a shop, and embraced the life of a *bhikshu*.

¹ This is in conformity with *Bu.*, I, 90-93. According to *Lal.*, I, p. 98, Māyādevī expired immediately after the birth of the Bodhisattva.

² Cf. *Lal.*, I, p. 103 (*Bodhisattvam-āñkena parigrihya*, etc.).

³ *Lal.*, I, p. 102.

⁴ E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 42.

26-29.—The two fragments, Nos. 26 and 27, depict **BODHISATTVA IN SCHOOL** the First Lesson of the Bodhisattva in school (*lipi-sālā*).¹ No. 27 shows in a separate compartment between two panels a female figure standing on lotus under a tree. This is a purely decorative device which serves only to divide the panels. Seated on a stool the Bodhisattva is engaged in writing on a board or tablet (*lipi-phalaka*) placed on the knees.² He is also represented as playing on a harp. The other figures, one of whom carries a long *takhti*-shaped tablet, are no doubt his co-students. No. 28 consists of three panels. At the extreme right is represented the Bodhisattva in school. The teacher (*Viśvāmitra*) is seated, while three students are approaching him, each carrying a writing board.³ A similar object also rests on the knees of the teacher. The middle panel shows feats in archery and the third one, which is a fragment, gives probably a demonstration of wrestling. (For a wrestling scene see below, No. 158). No. 29 shows the Bodhisattva seated on a stool and engaged in writing.

30.—This scene is of somewhat rare occurrence.⁴ **MARRIAGE OF BODHISATTVA** The relief shows the prince Gautama and the princess Yaśodharā standing opposite to each other, around a fire over which they join their hands. Behind the bride

¹ *Lal.*, I, pp. 125-128.

² There is reference to slabs of sandalwood being used by the Bodhisattva as writing boards in the Chinese account (Beal, *R. L. S. B.*, p. 68).

³ Tablets (*takhti*) of the shape represented in Gandhāra sculpture are in use even to this day in the Punjab and North-West Frontier.

⁴ Cf. Hargreaves, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, 1930, p. 26.

probably stands the train-bearer, and near the bridegroom a musician is blowing a pipe. The figure seated on a stool is either the priest or King Śuddhodana.

**SCENE IN THE
PALACE**

31-33.—No. 31 is a cast of which the original is in the Lahore Museum. It represents the scene in the Palace at Kapilavastu in the night just before the Renunciation¹, which took place when the Bodhisattva Gautama had attained the age of twenty-nine. The upper panel of the relief shows the Prince reclining on a couch with his wife Yaśodharā seated beside him and female musicians playing on their instruments. In the lower panel, Yaśodharā is asleep on a couch and so also are the tired musicians. An attempt is made here to show the females in various unseemly attitudes,² which must have filled the Bodhisattva's mind with disgust and apathy and hastened his decision to leave the Palace. The Bodhisattva on awaking has made up his mind to give up the worldly life of ease and pleasure, and orders his groom Chhandaka, who stands with folded hands in a corner, to bring his horse. Under one of the arches outside the room appear the armed female guards engaged by the King to keep watch on the Bodhisattva, so that he might not escape from the Palace. A representation of the Palace Scene on a miniature scale appears in No. 32. In No. 33, the Bodhisattva is seen leaving the Palace and his wife trying to hold him back. It represents, therefore, a version somewhat different from that of the texts and the foregoing reliefs. Before the Bodhisattva is Chhandaka, kneeling with folded hands.

¹ See p. 43 below.

² *Lal.*, I, p. 206.

34-40.—The departure from Kapilavastu in quest **RENUNCIATION AND FAREWELL** of Supreme Knowledge, known in literature as *Mahā-bhinishkramana* or the 'Great Departure', is depicted in these reliefs. No. 34: The Prince passes through the city gate on his favourite horse Kanṭhaka; his groom Chhandaka holds an umbrella over his head; and two Yakshas lift up Kanṭhaka by the hoofs, as narrated in the story, lest there should be any noise.¹ Māra, the Evil One, stands in front urging the Prince to abandon his intention. Behind him stands a divine being recognizable from his halo, and above are a soldier of Māra's army holding a dagger and also Vajrapāni carrying a thunderbolt with two hands. There is also present in the scene the City-goddess (*nagara-devatā*) of Kapilavastu² who wears a coronet (Pl. VIII, a). Nos. 35 and 37 show in the upper panels the Palace Scene and in the lower ones, the Departure of the Bodhisattva. These reliefs give a front view, while in Nos. 36 and 38 we have a profile view of the Prince riding away on his horse, as in No. 34 above. No. 39 is an extremely crude representation divided into two panels, the right one showing the princely rider and the left one, the Farewell of Chhandaka and Kanṭhaka. They took leave of the Prince the next morning after his flight from the Palace, when he had covered a distance of six *yojanas* from Kapilavastu. Although a

¹ Cf. *Lal.*, I, pp. 202 and 203: Vaiśravaṇa tells his Yaksha followers, 'aham cha purato yāsyे yūyam cha vahatha hayam.' In the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. 2, p. 161), however, it is stated that the four *mahārājas* in charge of the four cardinal points held up the legs of Kanṭhaka (*chaturhi mahārājehi Kanṭhakasya pādā grihitāb*).

² Cf. *Mah.*, Vol. 2, p. 164: *nagara-devatā Bodhisattvasya gach-chhataḥ purataḥ sthitivā*, etc.

fragment, No. 40 shows clearly the scene of Farewell. The Prince is taking off his ornaments which he hands over to Chhandaka, and his favourite horse stoops to kiss his feet.¹

**VISIT OF
KING BIMBISĀRA**

41.—According to legends, the Bodhisattva Gautama came to the town of Rājagṛīha (modern Rājgir) after having crossed the Ganges. Here King Bimbisāra visited him and wished to be taken in as a disciple after the Bodhisattva's Enlightenment. In the relief, which may be a representation of this story, the king is shown twice, first to the right of the Master who is seated under a tree, in the act of *pradakshina* (circumambulation), and next as kneeling with folded hands on the left.

**ACCEPTING THE
CLOTH OF A
HUNTSMAN**

42.—This fragment shows a man in short loin-cloth offering a garment to the Bodhisattva. He is the huntsman whom the Bodhisattva met after the departure of Chhandaka and with whose rough *kāshāya* cloth he exchanged his princely robe of silk. The huntsman of course was no other than a divine being who had approached the Bodhisattva in that disguise. Having secured the silken cloth he took it to heaven in order to worship it there.²

AUSTERITIES

43.—Prince Gautama proceeded to Gayā and there practised severe austerities for a period of six years, as a result of which he was reduced to a skeleton. He is seen here in an emaciated form, seated in meditation under a tree.

¹ The horse is said to have licked the feet of his master. *Bu.*, VI, 53.

² *Lal.*, I, p. 226; *Bu.*, VI, 63.

44.—Convinced that mortification of the body would not lead to Enlightenment, the Bodhisattva partook of food offered to him by a girl named Sujātā, and crossing the river Nirājanā proceeded towards the Bodhi tree. On the way he was worshipped by the Nāga king Kālika and his wife. In this relief the Bodhisattva is seen standing, offering protection. To his left is the Nāga couple, rising out of their watery abode and doing homage.

45.—The Bodhisattva obtained from a grass-cutter named Svastika a bundle of soft green grass, spread it at the foot of the tree and thereon took his seat, for the attainment of *Bodhi* or Enlightenment.¹ The relief shows the Bodhisattva standing, his right hand placed on a bundle of grass which is kept on a high seat. The grass-cutter Svastika stands to his right; behind him is the mischievous Māra holding a club-like object, and to the left of the Bodhisattva is Vajrapāni.

46.—It shows Gautama approaching the seat under the Bodhi tree (*Bodhimāṇḍa*) on which grass has been spread. The bust appearing below the seat is that of the Earth goddess who was asked by Gautama to bear witness to his having reached the stage preceding Enlightenment.² Behind him is Māra, the Evil One, carrying a sword, and there is also a devotee standing at the right hand corner. The figures to the left are probably Māra, his wife and other members of his party whom we shall meet again

¹ *Lal.*, I, pp. 286, 289.

² *Lal.*, I, p. 318. For the half figure (*ardha-kāya*) of the Earth goddess see *ibid.*, p. 319.

WORSHIP BY
NĀGA KĀLIKA

RECEIVING A
BUNDLE OF GRASS

APPROACHING
THE SEAT OF
ENLIGHTENMENT

hereafter. Two angels are seen flying towards the tree (Pl. VIII, *b*).

**ASSAULT OF
MĀRA, AND
ENLIGHTENMENT**

47-52.—Māra, the Evil One, thought that his authority in the temporal world would be at an end if the Bodhisattva obtained Supreme Knowledge and led people to salvation. He was, therefore, determined to use all his powers to overthrow the Bodhisattva. Māra tempted, threatened and also entreated him, and when these efforts had failed, attacked him physically with all his host. But the Bodhisattva remained unmoved in his seat ; and eventually, through his miraculous power, Māra was completely defeated, and he directly passed on to the stage of Buddhahood or Enlightenment. In the Gandhāra School this scene is of common occurrence and usually dealt with in two parts : first, the attack of Māra followed by his army,¹ and next, his defeat. No. 47 is only a fragment ; two of Māra's soldiers, armed with a sword and a shield are seen tumbling down below the seat of the Bodhisattva. Another fragment is No. 48 in which the figure of the Bodhisattva is missing. It shows Māra's army divided into rows. Below, at the right hand corner, is his chariot, and one of his sons is trying to dissuade him from the campaign. Above are three archers, one mounted on an elephant and the other two on fabulous animals. In the uppermost row, a number of gods distinguishable by their halos are hurrying towards the Bodhi tree. Within the small compass of No. 49 both the attack of Māra and his defeat are depicted. The Bodhisattva is seated on a throne in

¹ For a description of Māra's army see *Lal.*, I, pp. 305-307.

meditation with his right hand pointing downwards, calling the Earth goddess as witness just before Enlightenment.¹ The sinister-looking Māra standing nearby is about to unsheathe his sword. Below the throne two of his soldiers have dropped down. On the right the figure of the 'Buddha', (as we must call Gautama from now), appears once again, but this time as standing, and Māra is shown as shrinking back and about to beat a retreat. The figure unsheathing his sword in Nos. 50-52 is no doubt Māra and the person who catches hold of him from the side may be one of his wise sons trying to dissuade him.

53.—For seven weeks the Buddha had not touched **OFFERING OF BOWLS** any food. Now it so happened that two merchants, named Trapusha and Bhallika, who were passing that way offered him in all humility some eatables to break his fast. The Buddha accepted the offering, but thought that it would be appropriate to have it in a vessel. At once the four guardian-deities of the quarters appeared² and each offered him a bowl. Lest any of them should feel offended, he accepted all the four bowls, but through his miraculous power he pressed these into one. The relief here consists of two panels of which the left one (No. 53) shows the offering of the bowls by the guardian-deities of the four quarters. The right half (No. 54) of the relief shows a princely figure seated on a stool on either side of the Buddha, while there are two more worshipping

¹ This is known as 'the Earth-touching attitude' (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*), which became later one of the recognized conventional attitudes (*mudrā*) in Buddhist iconography.

² *Lal.*, I, p. 384.

royal figures standing nearby. Above, in the balconies similar figures also appear, some of whom are evidently females, in the attitude of adoration. This portion may or may not have any connection with the scene.

BUDDHA
REQUESTED BY
THE GODS TO
PREACH THE LAW

55-57.—After Enlightenment the Buddha was worshipped by the gods of the different orders.¹ In No. 56 he is seated in meditation, surrounded by the divine beings who have approached him with folded hands, some of them carrying also floral tributes. Among them is Vajrapāni, the bearded figure in the second row to the left of the Buddha. He carries the thunderbolt in one hand and a fly-whisk in the other. This relief may represent the exhortation of the Buddha by Brahmā, Śakra and other gods to preach the Law *i.e.*, his Doctrine, for the benefit of humanity.² Nos. 55 and 57 show the Buddha seated, his right hand raised in *abhaya* attitude. Around him evidently are the gods requesting him to preach.

FIRST SERMON

58-61.—At last the Buddha yielded to the prayer of the gods and proceeded to Rishipattana in Vārāṇasī, modern Sārnāth near Benares, to preach the Law. Here he delivered his First Sermon known as 'the turning of the Wheel of Law' (*dharma-chakra-pravartana*). A wheel, often surmounting a pillar, indicates this scene. In some reliefs the wheel appears between two deer seated back to back, which is symbolical of *Mrigadāva*, another name for Rishipattana. In the Gandhāra representations of this scene the right hand of the Buddha is usually shown in the *abhaya* attitude. In Nos. 59 and 60 (Pl. X, a)

¹ *Lal.*, I, pp. 357-369.

² *Lal.*, I, pp. 394 ff.

the Buddha is seated under a tree, surrounded by a number of devotees, among whom his first five disciples (the Five Bhadravargiyas) can be recognized from their shaven heads. It may be noted that in one of the reliefs (No. 61) the right hand of the Buddha is placed on the wheel and not raised in the *abhaya* attitude. No. 58 is a fragment representing the same scene.

63-66.—The Buddha proceeded to Urubilva, a village near Gayā, to convert an ascetic named Kāśyapa who lived in a hermitage with a large number of disciples. He performed five hundred miracles to bring Kāśyapa to his fold, the last of which was the Miracle at the Fire-temple (*agnisarana*). In this temple lived a dangerous serpent which was so terrible that even Kāśyapa did not dare to enter it. The Buddha informed Kāśyapa of his intention to take up lodging in the Fire-temple. The latter requested him not to risk his life in this way but put up instead in one of the huts of the hermitage. The Buddha, however, did as he intended and the serpent unable to stand his effulgence crawled into his alms-bowl. The temple was now flooded with light, at which the inmates of the hermitage thought that the serpent must have burnt the Buddha and set fire to the temple. They then rushed to the scene carrying water, in order to rescue him and extinguish the fire. The Buddha quietly came out of the temple and showed Kāśyapa how the serpent had been made innocuous and was now resting in his bowl. Thereupon Kāśyapa was fully convinced of the superiority of the Buddha, and he together with his family was converted.¹ Relief

¹ *Mah.*, Vol. 3, pp. 428-29.

No. 63 shows Kāśyapa seated in front of his hut where he is visited by the Buddha (accompanied by Vajrapāṇi). The Hellenistic treatment of the figure of Vajrapāṇi in this relief is noteworthy. Although very much damaged, No. 64 clearly represents the Kāśyapa incident. The serpent resting inside an alms-bowl appears in front of the temple, and the hermits are seen pouring water to extinguish the fire which they supposed had overtaken the temple. This part of the Miracle, namely the extinguishing of the fire, is depicted very clearly in a cast (No. 65), of which the original is in the Lahore Museum. In No. 66, the Buddha stands in the centre of the panel with a bowl containing the serpent which he is showing to Kāśyapa, the bearded figure with a long stick. Encircling the latter are his disciples.

**VISIT TO KAPILA-
VASTU AND
ORDINATION OF
RĀHULA**

67-68.—When the Buddha was living for some time at Rājagrīha, King Śuddhodana sent Kālodāyin of the Śākyā family to invite him to Kapilavastu. The Buddha accepted the invitation and arrived there with his disciples. The Śākyas had already provided for their lodging in the Nyagrodha park. Anticipating that the proud Śākyas might not properly receive him and show him such honour as was his due, he performed a few miracles. He took a long stride in the air, his feet remaining above the ground. Then, simultaneously, flames began to issue from the upper part of his body and streams of water from the lower part (called *Yamaka-prātihārya*) and *vice versa*. When these were shown and the Buddha had taken his seat, the Śākyas came, headed by Śuddhodana, and bowed before him. During his stay at Kapilavastu his wife Yaśodharā sent

her son Rāhula to the Buddha to ask for his paternal property. The boy saw the Buddha but did not know who he was. The Buddha promised to give Rāhula his heritage when he took ordination. Rāhula, however, soon recognized his father and pleaded for being admitted into the Order, so that he might follow in the Buddha's foot-steps. Eventually, at the request of the Buddha he was ordained by Śāriputra.¹ No. 67 is divided into two panels. On the right the Buddha is seen taking his promenade in the air which is witnessed by a group of persons. In the other panel, he has taken his seat under a tree, while a monk is pouring water over his feet which a princely looking person is engaged in washing. Relief No. 68 is a continuous one and not divided into sections by pilasters as usual, although it presents four different phases of a story, the progress of which is shown from right to left. The invitation of the Buddha by the Sākyas is depicted at the right end of the panel. About the centre of the panel, he is seen as performing the miracle in the air in the presence of the Sākyas, one of whom actually prostrates before him. Next we find the Buddha seated, attended by a number of persons. The lady seated to his right is probably his wife Yaśodharā. Before the Buddha is a little child who should be recognized as Rāhula, his son who appears once again, but this time in monkish garb, behind Yaśodharā. At the very end of the panel, the Buddha appears standing and by his side is a monk who may

¹ *Mah.*, Vol. 3, pp. 114-117, 142, 262-64, 268. Regarding the Rāhula story see also *Dhammapada Commentary*, Translation by E. W. Burlingame, Part I, p. 219 and Beal, *R. L. S. B.*, pp. 359 ff.

be Śāriputra. This portion of the sculpture illustrates the reception of Rāhula into the Order.

**STORY OF NANDA
AND SUNDARĪ**

72-73.—An incident that happened at Kapilavastu on the third day of the Buddha's arrival was the Ordination of Nanda, his step-brother.¹ The ceremonies of Nanda's royal consecration and marriage were in progress simultaneously in his own house when suddenly the Buddha arrived there for alms, placed his bowl in Nanda's hands and without waiting any further left the house. Nanda followed him, out of reverence, bowl in hand, until they reached a monastery. There, much against his own will, Nanda received ordination at the suggestion of the Buddha.² But the thought of the beautiful wife Sundarī always haunted him, and he soon began to devise means of escape from the Order. Once when the Buddha was absent he stealthily left the monastic abode. The Buddha, however, knew all about Nanda's movements and coming through the air descended just near Nanda, as he was escaping through a garden. In order to avoid him Nanda sat down behind a tree to conceal himself. But the Buddha caused the tree to rise miraculously into the air, thereby exposing the wretched fugitive.³—In relief No. 72 the toilet scene of Sundarī is depicted. Her husband, the unfortunate

¹ *Dhamm. Comm.*, Part I, pp. 217 ff.

² This is the subject matter of Aśvaghosha's poem *Saundarananda* (Bib. Ind. Series).

³ This part of the account is lacking in the *Dhamm. Comm.* and in the *Saundarananda*, but is given by Beal from Chinese sources (*R. L. S. B.*, p. 373). See Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, pp. 471-472.

Nanda, is seen standing at the left end of the relief, holding the Buddha's alms-bowl. Relief No. 73, consisting of two panels, represents the ordination of Nanda. In the lower panel, the Buddha seated on his throne is seen pouring water over the head of Nanda, while a barber shaves his head. Nearby is the bearded Vajrapāṇi looking at the Buddha. How the guilt of Nanda was detected is shown above. He kneels with folded hands before the Buddha. The tree which appears in the relief is the one that miraculously rose into the air. The remaining figures are much too mutilated and do not admit of identification.

69-71.—Devadatta, the jealous cousin of the Buddha, made a number of attempts to destroy him. Once he hired some assassins and waylaid the Buddha. But the plot was discovered and eventually the assassins confessed their guilt and were converted.¹ In the left half of the panel No. 70, the hirelings are seen assembled behind a wall (Pl. IX, a). In the right half, the Buddha is standing under an umbrella ; to his left is Vajrapāṇi. One of the fellows bows down at the feet of the Buddha, which marks the final stage of the story. Relief Nos. 69 and 71 represent the same episode. A noteworthy feature of No. 71 is the muscular treatment of the bearded Vajrapāṇi and also of the brigands, which has a distinct Hellenistic touch about it. Both are divided in the middle by a wall placed sideways, as in No. 70, to give an idea of space, as also to distinguish the two stages of the story, namely the attack and the submission of the assassins.

DEVADATTA'S
HIRELINGS ATTACK
THE BUDDHA

¹ *Dhamm. Comm.*, Part I, p. 236.

**SUBDING THE
ELEPHANT
NĀLAGIRI**

74-75.—Another murderous attempt of Devadatta is the well-known Nālagiri incident¹ which occurred at Rājagrīha. In order to kill the Buddha an infuriated elephant named Nālagiri was let loose against him, but through his miraculous power the elephant was pacified and subdued. The elephant coming out of a gate is shown in both the reliefs. In No. 74, it is seen carrying a heavy mace-like object by its trunk. That the animal has been pacified is suggested by the Buddha placing his hand over its head.

**STORY OF
JYOTISHKA**

76.—The story² depicted in this relief bears an allusion to the rivalry that existed between the Buddhist and Jaina sects. The Buddha once prophesied that the wife of Subhadra, a certain Jaina citizen of Rājagrīha, would give birth to a son who would make his family renowned. Subhadra in token of his gratitude made a sumptuous present to the Buddha, which excited the jealousy of the Jaina monks. They warned Subhadra and predicted that the future child would bring nothing but disaster. This frightened him and in order to avert the calamity he administered some drugs to his pregnant wife to cause abortion. From the bad effects of the drugs she died, although this did not prevent the birth of the child who came out of the womb when his mother's body was being cremated. The child who was known as *Jyotishka*, because he was born in the midst of flames, was taken charge of by Bimbisāra, King of Rājagrīha, at the suggestion of the Buddha. In No. 76, the infant Jyotishka is seen rising from the burning pyre of his mother and being received by King

¹ *Dhamm. Comm.*, Part I, p. 236.

² Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, pp. 525 ff, and *Divy.*, pp. 262 ff. See also Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 65 ff.

Bimbisāra. The large standing figure is that of the Buddha himself, while princes, laymen and a monk also appear in the scene (Pl. VII, b).

77.—A certain forest king (*Ātavika*) had entered CONVERSION OF YAKSHA ĀTAVIKA into a contract with a man-eating Yaksha (ogre) that he would supply one of his men daily to the latter for his meal. Gradually, when all the wicked men of the realm were devoured one after another, the king selected his own young son as an offering to the demon. The child was being taken to the Yaksha when the Buddha appeared on the scene and took his seat inside the Yaksha's abode. The Yaksha tried his best to dislodge him from there but utterly failed, and in the end was converted.¹ In the relief the Buddha is seated on throne, his right hand lifted in the *abhaya* pose. To his right, the Yaksha is in the act of hurling a boulder at him. The figure hurrying up with a child in his arms is probably the demon again, evidently now eager to deliver the child to the Buddha. At the right end of the sculpture, some attendants are seen as carrying the child back.

78.—The Buddha once vanished from the midst of his disciples and appeared in the *Trayastrīmśa* heaven to preach the Law to his departed mother. Having spent there the rainy season in preaching, he descended at Sāṅkāśya (modern Sankisa in U. P.), accompanied by the gods Brahmā and Śakra. Three miraculous staircases appeared for their descent (*Devatāvatarana*), each leading up to heaven. A nun named Utpalavarnā, who happened to be there, saw the Buddha

¹ See Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd ed., p. 269 and Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, pp. 507 ff.

descending and received him with due honour.¹ In the relief, which is very much damaged, three ladders are depicted: the Buddha is seen descending by the middle one, while Brahmā and Śakra by the other two, respectively on his left and right. At the foot of Śakra's ladder is his elephant, while the nun Utpalavarnā appears at the foot of the middle ladder welcoming the Buddha.

**INVITATION OF
ŚRIGUPTA AND
GRAHADATTA**

79-80.—Two friends, Śrigupta, a lay disciple of the Buddha and Grahadatta, a disciple of the Naked Ascetics of the Jaina Order, lived at Śrāvasti. At the instance of the Naked Ascetics, Grahadatta took Śrigupta to task for visiting the Buddha instead of his own teachers who were reputed to have great prophetic powers. Śrigupta resolved to put them to test and invited them to his house. He dug out a ditch, filled it with filth and placed the seats at its edge, so that the moment the ascetics sat down they might fall into it. The ascetics came and as they occupied the seats the expected thing happened. Grahadatta now wanted to retaliate. He invited the Buddha and his disciples and employed a similar stratagem. A ditch was dug out and filled with live coal over which seats were spread. But the Buddha as he came to the spot saw through the trick by dint of his supernatural power and forthwith an enormous lotus sprang up in the ditch. Taking his seat on the lotus, and surrounded by his disciples who were also seated on lotuses, he caused a huge supply of eatables to be brought into

¹ Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, pp. 537 ff; *Divy.*, pp. 150, 394; Rockhill, *Buddha*, pp. 80-81; Legge, *The Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. 49-50; and *Dhamm. Comm.*, Part 3, pp. 47 ff. The incident is supposed to have followed the Miracle at Śrāvasti.

existence which he and his party enjoyed. Grahadatta, who beheld the miracle, was thoroughly convinced of the Buddha's powers and immediately accepted conversion.¹ According to another version of the story,² Śrīgupta was a wealthy house-holder of Rājagrīha and follower of a heretical teacher named Purana. He invited the Buddha with a view to destroy him and his disciples, and contrived a double stratagem. On the way he put burning charcoal in a ditch which was concealed under a light covering, and also poisoned the food intended for the Buddha. The Buddha, who saw through his ruse, miraculously turned the fiery ditch into a tank of lotuses and made the food free from poison. Thereafter Śrīgupta was converted.

No. 79 : The figure of the Buddha standing in the centre divides the panel into two sections. On the right are the disciples of the Buddha and on the left, Śrīgupta and his attendants. Śrīgupta is seen twice, first as offering food out of a vessel held by a servant and next as kneeling before the Master, evidently confessing his guilt. The Buddha and his companions all stand on lotuses, which suggests the transformation of the ditch into the tank full of lotuses, as mentioned in the story. This sculpture, therefore, is in agreement with the latter version.

No. 80 : This relief also represents the incident in the house of Śrīgupta. In the right panel,

¹ *Dhamm. Comm.*, Part 2, pp. 92 ff.

² Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, p. 533; and Hargreaves, *Hand-book*, pp. 42-43. Fa-Hien evidently refers to this incident when he says that it was at Rājagrīha that 'the Nigrantha made a pit of fire and poisoned the rice, and then invited Buddha (to eat with him).'-Legge, *Fa-Hien*, p. 82.

the Buddha is seen standing with his whole entourage including Vajrapāni. Their feet rest on lotuses, as in No. 79. The left panel shows the miraculous feast in which the Buddha and his disciples took part. They are seen as eating out of dishes and bowls and the eatables are spread before the Buddha on a small table.¹

**OFFERING OF A
HANDFUL OF DUST**

81.—Once upon a time the Buddha was passing through Rājagṛiha on his daily round for alms, when he was seen by two boys who were playing with dust on the way. Suddenly moved to make an offering to the Buddha, one of them dropped a handful of dust into his begging bowl, saying that it was barley-flour, while the other boy looked on in approbation. The Buddha received this dust-offering (*pāniśu-añjali*) and predicted that the boy would be reborn at Paṭali-putra as King Aśoka, due to his merit.² In the relief the Buddha is seen holding a bowl to the children to receive their offering. One of them is pouring the dust into his bowl and the other is seated nearby. To the left of the panel is the fragmentary portion of what appears to be a scene similar to the First Preaching. This can be recognized from the two figures of seated monks as in the reliefs illustrating that episode (*cf.* No. 60).

**WHITE DOG
THAT BARKED AT
THE BUDDHA**

82.—At Śrāvasti the Buddha went to the house of a person named Śuka who had a white dog. At the sight of the Buddha the dog began to bark furiously at him. Then the Buddha divined the cause of its annoyance and through his miraculous power at once recognized

¹ See also below, pp. 102-103, 107.

² *Divy.*, pp. 366, 368.

the creature as Śuka's departed miserly father. He assured Śuka that the dog knew the place where in its former birth it had buried a treasure. At the instance of the Buddha the dog pointed out the spot to Śuka by scratching the earth.¹ The relief (Pl. VI, b) shows the dog seated on a couch or *charpai* and the Buddha remonstrating with it. The dog is seen also under the *charpai* where it crouched in mortification after having seen the Buddha. There are two other Buddha figures in the relief, probably to mark the different stages of the story which are not clear. Here he is attended by Vajrapāṇi, probably Śuka and other members of his household. The identity of the naked figure who turns his back to the spectator is uncertain. It may be noted that Vajrapāṇi, and indeed almost all the figures of this relief, are proportionately built and have their muscles well represented. Vajrapāṇi holds the thunderbolt in the left hand and a fly-whisk in the right. A notable figure is the emaciated person in the middle of the panel carrying a water-pot.²

83, 83 a-b.—The Nāga king Apalāla, who inhabited the sources of the river Suvāstu (the Swat) in Gandhāra, used to flood the surrounding countries periodically to the endless distress of the inhabitants. At last the Buddha came to their rescue. His companion Vajrapāṇi smote the mountain sides, which so much terrified Apalāla that he at once submitted to the Buddha and

SUBMISSION OF
NĀGA KING
APALĀLA

¹ Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, p. 524 and fig. 257, b. The legend is known from Chinese and Tibetan sources, but not preserved in Indian texts.

² Foucher identifies this part of the relief as the presentation to the Kāśyapas of a bowl containing the Serpent at Urubilva. *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, p. 525, fig. 257, a.

promised to desist from flooding. For his own subsistence, however, Apalāla was allowed by the Buddha to flood the land every twelve years. The legend as depicted here has, therefore, a peculiar local significance of its own, since the scene of the story is laid in the Gandhāra region.¹ In relief No. 83, which is partly defaced, we can recognize the Buddha, the Nāga king Apalāla and his wife (both having snake-hoods) and above, Vajrapāni. Apalāla kneels before the Buddha to beg for his mercy ; below the Nāga king's feet is represented the river Suvāstu, while the mountainous nature of the scene is suggested by the rugged treatment of the background. Two semi-circular reliefs, Nos. 83 *a* and 83 *b*, representing the story of Apalāla, which are much better preserved and more elaborately carved, are displayed respectively on the eastern and western walls of the gallery. In No. 83 *a*, Vajrapāni is seen behind the Buddha, while in No. 83 *b*, the former is represented as smiting the mountains. In both, Apalāla and his two wives appear as coming out of the water.

**DEAD WOMAN'S
CHILD**

84-85.—The senior wives of a king conspired against his youngest wife who was with child. They bribed the sooth-sayer who declared her ill-omened and to avoid a calamity the king buried her alive in a tomb. But due to merit acquired in former births she was delivered of a son even after death. The son whose name was Sudāya lived for three years in the tomb and three years more in the jungle where he met the

¹ Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, pp. 544 ff. The incident happened at the time of the Parinirvāṇa according to *Divy.*, p. 385.

Buddha who took him into his fold out of compassion.¹ No. 84 : The relief shows a brick-built structure which represents the tomb (Pl. IX, b). The place where the tomb is situated appears to be infested by demons. Inside the tomb the dead woman is lying on the knees of one of them, her child still sucking her breast. The child is shown once again, as standing ; this time his figure is made a little taller, suggesting that he has grown in years. Before him stands the Buddha who is accompanied by a princely figure, a monk and Vajrapāṇi. The figure of Vajrapāṇi is rather interesting inasmuch as he bears resemblance to some of the figures of Zeus occurring on coins. He is shown quite naked, muscular and bearded, the right hand resting on the hip and the left carrying the thunderbolt and a loin-cloth. No. 85 : This fragment also represents the same scene. The common features of these reliefs are the child standing with folded hands under a tree, the dead woman lying on the knees of a person and the figure of a warrior that carries a shield and a lance.

86.—Once while the Buddha was absorbed in deep **CONSOLATION OF ĀNANDA** meditation in a cave on the Grīdhakūṭa mountain in Magadha, Māra, the Evil One, assuming the shape of a vulture frightened his disciple Ānanda as he was waiting outside the cave, and the Buddha consoled him. This is probably the subject-matter of the relief. The Buddha is seated in a cave and outside a monk i.e. Ānanda, is waiting under a tree. The Buddha passing his right hand through the rocky wall of the

¹ Hargreaves, *Handbook*, pp. 40-41.

cave, which intervenes between him and Ānanda, places it on the head of his disciple.¹

VISIT OF ŚAKRA

87-88.—In the course of his journeys in the Magadha country the Buddha lived for some time in the Indraśāla cave on Vediyaka hill near Rājagrīha, where Śakra, 'Indra of the gods', came to see him. Śakra was accompanied by Pañchaśikha, the Gandharva musician, and both of them appeared near the Buddha's cave. At that time the hill top was dazzling with light and looked as if it was all ablaze with fire. Finding the Buddha deeply absorbed in meditation Śakra asked Pañchaśikha to approach him first and propitiate him with music. The divine musician thereupon took up his lyre and began to play on it. He sang hymns in praise of the Buddha, and finally announced the arrival of Śakra. After they had met and exchanged greetings, Śakra placed a few problems of philosophical import before the Buddha, the solution of which was readily furnished. He then returned in grateful satisfaction, after having duly adored the Buddha.² No. 88 : The relief shows the Buddha seated on a throne in a cave in meditative pose.³ Flames, which are supposed to have emanated from his body, are depicted on the walls of the cave, and the wooded nature of the locality is suggested by the trees, birds and animals. Śakra, whose peculiar head-dress should be noted, is seen approaching with

¹ Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, p. 499 and fig. 249. The story is given by Fa-Hien.—Legge, *Fa-Hien*, p. 83. For a similar sculpture see Spooner, *A. S. R.*, 1909-10, Pl. XVI, b and p. 53.

² The story is given in *Sakka-pañha-suttanta* (*Dīghanikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 263 ff.).

³ Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, p. 492 and fig. 246.

folded hands, and an attendant holds an umbrella over his head. On the right, Śakra's arrival is being announced by his harpist Pañchaśikha whose fragmentary figure and harp can be recognized. A host of other deities also arrive in reverential attitude. The Buddha's reposed mood is imitated even by the animals of the forest, for instance, the lion crouching in a hollow underneath the Buddha's throne. Over the cave are two monkeys seated in meditation like the Buddha himself. The whole scene is so composed as to suggest an atmosphere of calm repose and meditation, brought about by the magic presence of the Buddha. *No. 87*: The same scene appears here on a miniature scale. The uneven and rugged background suggests the hilly nature of the place. From the right three persons are seen approaching the Buddha seated in the cave. Of them, the middle one is evidently Śakra; he is followed by a divine lady who may be his wife. The person in front of Śakra is Pañchaśikha, the harpist.

The visitor should now proceed to the south-western corner of the room, where on the outer face of a show-case are exhibited representations of the Great Miracle (*Mahāprātihārya*) of Śrāvasti, one of the most important episodes of the Buddha's life.

89-96.—In the time of the Buddha there lived in **GREAT MIRACLE OF ŚRĀVASTI** the city of Rajagṛīha six heretical teachers (*tīrthyas*). All of them claimed great miraculous powers, but the Buddha having come to the forefront they were no longer held in esteem. They determined therefore to hold a contest, in which they could give a demonstration of their miraculous feats (*riddhi-prātihārya*),

and ask the Buddha to show his own. In this way they hoped to establish their supremacy and decided that when the Buddha proceeded to Śrāvastī in Kosala they would go there and challenge him. The opportunity soon came, and at Śrāvastī they put the terms of the challenge before King Prasenajit of Kosala. The king conveyed their wishes to the Buddha and requested him to display his miraculous powers for the benefit of mankind. The Buddha agreed, and with his permission Prasenajit built a special pavilion for the purpose (*Prātihārya-mandapa*), between the town of Śrāvastī and Jetavana. The heretical teachers also built for themselves separate pavilions and kept waiting. On the appointed day King Prasenajit reached the pavilion with his retinue ; the heretics also came there followed by a vast crowd, and the king and the heretics took their respective seats. When they were thus waiting, the Buddha came there travelling through the air, and as he entered the *mandapa* it appeared as if it was lit up with fire. Then the following events happened in succession : There was produced a golden light in which the whole world became manifest. The gardeners Gaṇḍaka and Ratnaka brought respectively a *Karnikāra* tree from the Uttara-Kaurava island and an *Āśoka* tree from the Gandhamādana and planted them behind the *mandapa*. Then the Buddha placed his feet on the ground, and immediately the whole earth began to move and tremble in six different ways, while the sun and the moon began to shine together ; the gods from heaven showered on his head lotuses and other flowers and also different kinds of incense ; and they

sounded divine musical instruments and waved their garments. As the Buddha was seated, rays began to emanate from his body and the *mandapa* was filled with golden light. Then rising in the air he simultaneously appeared in all directions in four different poses : erect, walking, seated and recumbent ; and fire and water emanated alternately from the upper and lower parts of his body.¹ The multitude of gods headed by Śakra and Brahmā now appeared. Brahmā and his companions after having saluted the Buddha and encircling him thrice took their seats to his right ; and similarly Śakra and his companions seated themselves to his left. Thereafter a thousand-petalled golden lotus resting on a jewel stem sprang up, supported by the Nāga Kings Nanda and Upananda, and on the lotus the Buddha took his seat. He also created a huge array of representations of himself which went up as far as the highest heaven. Then the heretical teachers were asked by King Prasenajit to show their own feats as they had promised, but none of them dared to come forward.² At this moment, Pāñchika, the Yaksha general descended into that assembly, and apprehending that the heretics might still continue to trouble the Buddha and his Saṅgha for a long time, created a violent thunder-storm. This totally confounded the heretics and they fled in all directions. Thus the supreme position of the Buddha stood vindicated, and he preached his Law in an

¹ This is technically known in Buddhist literature as *Yamaka-prātihārya* i.e. Double Miracle (*Mah.*, Vol. 3, pp. 115, 410 ; and *Dhamm. Comm.*, Part 3, p. 45).

² Cf. below, p. 66, n. 1.

appropriate manner before the huge concourse of people that had come there to witness the Miracle.¹

No. 91 : This relief shows three figures, represented as seated under a porch decorated with lion-headed brackets at the lower ends. In the centre the preaching Buddha is seated on a lotus supported by the Nāga Kings Nanda and Upananda, who are shown only up to the waist as emerging from water. On either side of the Nāgas there are the small figures of a monk and a nun (who may be Maudgalyāyana and Utpalavarṇā according to Foucher), both in a kneeling posture. Above the Buddha's head and also to its right are three loose flowers, probably representing those showered on him by the gods, as related in the story. The Buddha has two divine attendants, both occupying high, decorated seats. According to the *Divyāvadāna*, they should be Brahmā and Śakra, but it is possible that here the artist intends to represent Bodhisattvas. The figure to the right of the Buddha has one foot hanging down and the other resting aslant on the seat. With a finger of his left

¹ *Divy.*, pp. 142 ff. See also Foucher, "The Great Miracle at Śrāvasti" in *B. B. A.*, pp. 147 ff. The Great Miracle happened in the earlier part of the Buddha's ministry (probably in the sixth year of his preaching). A corroboration is found in a Kharoshthī inscription on a relief from Yakubi (Konow, *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 133) depicting the Great Miracle, which mentions the Buddha as *Jinakumāra*, i.e., 'the young Jina.' He is described in the inscription as being 'in the midst of those who had deviated from their terms' (*sadha-bhramiteshu*). Konow reads *sacha* (Sans. *satya*) and takes the expression to mean 'among those who were confounded through truth.' But I think the second letter must be read as *dha*, so that the word is *sadha* (Sans. *saṁdhā*). The reference is probably to the inability of the heretical teachers to perform miracles which they had originally undertaken to do. Cf. p. 65 above.

hand he touches the head, resting in a peculiar reclining pose, and in the right hand he holds a manuscript which in later art is an attribute of Mañjuśrī. The other attendant (*Avalokiteśvara*?) similarly touches the head, but with a finger of the right hand, and holds in his left hand a bunch of flowers. The disposition of the legs is slightly different from that of the other figure, as both the legs hang down, one resting on a low stool. The attendant who holds a manuscript has his hair tied into a knot which remains bare, but the other attendant wears a jewelled turban. There are garlands hanging over the heads of both the figures. Their pensive mood and the reclining position of the foreheads are specially to be noted.¹

No. 95 : It is in the form of a stele which has a tenon at the base (originally fitted into an inverted lotus) and a conical shaft rising from the middle of the upper portion which probably was crowned by an umbrella. The stele is evidently intended to depict the Pavilion of Miracle (*Prātihārya-mandapa*) at Śrāvasti. The structure, of which the façade is elaborately decorated, shows two pillars in front surmounted by animal figures, over which are laid architraves on each side. Note the balconies with figures of women peeping out from compartments, the lion-headed brackets, the balustrade of the balconies, the gable with 'horse-shoe arch' and the frieze of garland-bearers on the basement. The lion-head is probably the forerunner of the later *Kīrtimukha* motif. The Buddha in the centre, who has a nimbus as well as an

¹ See also Foucher, *B. B. A.*, Pl. XXV, fig. 2 and page opposite.

aureole, is seated on a lotus. Above his head are two streamers and a twisted garland. There are replicas of temples at the two upper corners of the relief, in which are two Buddhas seated in meditation on inverted lotuses, and between them under the 'horseshoe arch' are again Buddha figures, some erect and some seated. The central Buddha has the two divine attendants as in No. 91, both occupying high, decorated seats. The attendant on the Buddha's right has bare feet which are crossed, resting on a lotus. The attendant on the left wears sandals: one of his legs hangs down; the other rests on the seat, and its sandal is left on the ground. His forehead rests against his right hand, but the other figure does not show this attitude (Pl. IX, c).¹

No. 93: This relief, originally surmounted by an umbrella, has a tenon at the bottom. The preaching Buddha is seated on a full-blown lotus as usual, and above his head are the heavenly flowers. His two attendants stand by him, each under an umbrella, and a lay worshipper appears in a kneeling posture on either side of the lotus.²

No. 92: The figure of a Nāga shown in half below the lotus and the Bodhisattva figure seated on

¹ See also Foucher, *B. B. A.*, Pl. XXV, fig. 1, and page opposite.

² According to Foucher (*B. B. A.*, pp. 173-74 and Pl. XXIV, fig. 1 and page opposite) they may be respectively Lühasudatta and his wife. His name appears in *Divy.*, p. 159, and in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins. Foucher is of opinion that of the two acolytes the one on the Buddha's right, who has a rich turban, may be identified as Śakra and the one on the left who has a simple hair-knot on the head may be Brahmā. But this view is negatived by a sculpture in the Peshawar Museum (Hargreaves, *Handbook*, Pl. 2, fig. a), which shows Śakra and Brahmā in the background, in addition to the two figures standing by the side of the Buddha.

a stool on one side in this fragment suggest the identification of the relief with the Great Miracle scene. At the bottom is an inscription in Kharoshthī characters which reads: *Sihamitrasa danamukhe S[i]hil[i]asa sadavi(yarisa)*, i.e., 'the gift of Sihamitra, the companion of Sihilika.'¹

No. 94: The relief is of a much later date than the foregoing ones. The Buddha seated in the middle is attended as usual by two Bodhisattvas, probably Maitreya and Avalokitesvara. Maitreya, one of whose insignia is the jar, stands to the left. The garland held by the attendant standing to the right of the Buddha may be regarded as a distinguishing feature of Avalokitesvara. The head of the former shows a looped knot of hair on the top and the latter wears a turban decorated with a conical jewel (see below, pp. 87 ff.).²

No. 90: A detailed version of the Great Miracle is furnished by this cast of which the original is in the Lahore Museum.

See also Spooner, *A. S. R.*, 1907-8, p. 144, n. 3. There is a sculpture also in our collection showing the four divinities together in the Great Miracle scene (No. 355). Brahmā in these reliefs has the simple dress of an ascetic with a knot of hair on the head and carries a water-pot in his left hand. One of the acolytes has the same style of hair-knot and also carries a jar in his left hand, but he wears the dress of a prince. We should therefore iconographically distinguish the two figures; as stated elsewhere, the princely figure may be Maitreya.

¹ Konow, *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 110 and Pl. XXI, 5.

² As regards the Bodhisattva carrying a garland there are a number of parallels in the Peshawar Museum of which one (No. 1867), a late example, bears instead of the conical ornament, the effigy of a preaching Buddha in his turban, as in the Avalokitesvara images of the later schools. Incidentally, it may be observed that in the Gandhāra School an attempt was made at first to distinguish the Bodhisattvas by means of their head-dresses.

No. 96 : It represents the combined Fire-and-water Miracle (*yamaka-prātihārya*) which the Buddha performed at Śrāvasti.¹ It shows him standing with flames around his halo and waves beneath his feet. There are also standing four persons on each side with folded hands, gazing at him.

No. 89 : This is a unique piece which comes from near Kabul.² The Buddha is seated in meditation, evidently on a lotus of which the lower portion is now missing. From his shoulders, as also from the edge of the aureole, fire is represented as emanating, but there is no sign of the Water Miracle.³ From the two sides of the Buddha spring up two lotuses, on each of which is a standing Buddha. The one to the left of the central figure is Dipankara (cf. Nos. 1-4) : Sumedha is seen making obeisance to him, throwing flowers at him and soaring up in the sky. The Buddha to the right of the central figure carries a bowl and to his left stands a naked child. This may represent the scene of the Dust-offering (cf. No. 81). Above the head of the principal Buddha figure, on the aureole, are shown two flying deities carrying parasols,

The appearance of the Buddha figure in head-dress can be expected there only at a sufficiently later date, as in other schools. There is a Bodhisattva head bearing a Dhyāni-Buddha figure in the Field Museum, Chicago, which Coomaraswamy assigns to the 2nd century A.D. See his *Origin of the Buddha Image*, fig. 32.

¹ Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, p. 535 and fig. 263 ; cf. *ibid.* p. 531, fig. 261. With this sculpture compare also an example from Patava in the Musée Guimet. René Grousset, *C. E., Ind.*, p. 33, fig. 21.

² See above, p. 2.

³ For a Gandhāra Buddha with flames on shoulders, see *A. S. R.* 1921-22, p. 65 and Pl. XXVa; and for a 5th century Chinese Buddha with flames, see Foucher, *B. B. A.*, Pl. XXI, fig. 2.

in which respect the Patava Buddha in the Musée Guimet offers an exact parallel.¹

97-99.—The scene of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* or 'the GREAT DECEASE' ² is very common in the Gandhāra School and is also one of the principal themes represented by the later artists. The characteristic elements of the scene are : the Buddha lying on a *charpai* with his head resting on a pillow, turned to the left of the spectator ; surrounding him are the mourners—his own disciples, the Mallas of Kuśinagara and the gods. Besides, there are two trees suggesting that the Buddha attained Parinirvāṇa, between two Śāla trees (*shorea robusta*) at Kuśinagara (modern Kasia, Gorakhpur District, U. P.), as related in the story.

No. 99 : This is an elaborate representation of the Death scene (Pl. X, b). In the centre of the panel the Buddha's body rests on a *charpai* between the two Śālas. The uppermost row consists of flying deities. In the next two rows appear a number of princely figures who may be the Malla chieftains, some of whom are throwing flowers over the Buddha's body, while others are making demonstrations of grief. The two female figures seen emerging from the trees are no doubt the sylvan deities. The monk nearest to the Buddha's head, who holds a fly-whisk, may be his disciple Ānanda,

¹ The association of flames with the Buddha's body is often dwelt upon in the Texts. His body emitted light when he was delivering the First Sermon (*Lal.*, Vol. I, p. 410) and also when he visited the Sākyas at Kapilavastu (*Mah.*, Vol. 3, p. 115). But the occasion on which this remarkable phenomenon was seen frequently was that of the Great Miracle at Śrāvasti (*Divy.*, pp. 157, 159, 161).

² Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, pp. 554 ff and the references there cited. The principal text dealing with this event is the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (P. T. S.).

while the nude figure standing second from the left in the same line is probably an Ājīvika ascetic. The monk standing next to the nude figure, who carries a staff, is probably the Buddha's favourite disciple Mahākāśyapa who arrived on the spot just after the decease. According to the story, Mahākāśyapa got the news on the way from an Ājīvika ascetic : the introduction of the naked figure is made perhaps to denote this incident. There are a few other grief-stricken monks near the feet of the Master, and by the side of the *charpai* is Vajrapāṇi represented as falling down. Next to Vajrapāṇi is a person seated in meditation whose identity is not clear, but he may be Subhadra, the last disciple. Between him and Vajrapāṇi there appears an object which may be a water-bowl, hanging from a tripod of three sticks fixed in the ground. The water-bowl might be of Subhadra ; the three sticks denote according to Bloch¹ the order of the *Traidaṇḍika* ascetics to which perhaps Subhadra belonged originally.

Nos. 97, 98 : These two panels represent the same scene but are not so elaborate or detailed as No. 99. The figure of a monk carrying a staff placed over his shoulder with his kit hanging from its end occurs in almost all the reliefs. The figure probably represents Mahākāśyapa who hurried to the spot from Rājagṛha to have a last glimpse of the great Master, but unfortunately arrived too late. A seated *dhyāṇi* figure appears also in No. 97. There are three Śāla trees instead of two in No. 98.

¹ *Supp. Cat.*, p. 28.

101.—According to the story, the dead body of the BUDDHA'S COFFIN Buddha was placed in a coffin immediately after his death and then cremated with the ceremonies befitting a universal monarch. In the present relief we see a coffin under two Śāla trees attended by five persons, namely Vajrapāni, three monks of whom one carries a staff over his shoulder (Mahākāśyapa ?) and a princely figure which may represent one of the Malla chiefs (Pl. XI, a).

100.—The right half of this relief shows the Great CREMATION Decease and the left half, the Cremation. By the side of the funeral pyre are seen two Malla chieftains extinguishing the fire by pouring out milk from vessels tied to the ends of long sticks.

102-105.—After cremation there was a regular DIVISION AND scramble for shares of the corporeal relics, for the TRANSPORT OF purpose of enshrinement in stūpas, amongst the Mallas CORPOREAL of Kuśinagara and their neighbours, the Lichchhavis RELICS of Vaisālī, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Mallas of Pāvā and other tribes. The Mallas of Kuśinagara, who were in possession of the relics, refused to make a division, whereupon the other claimants representing seven tribes in all advanced with their combined forces towards the town of Kuśinagara. At this juncture, when war seemed imminent, a Brāhmaṇa named Drōṇa advised the Mallas of Kuśinagara that instead of fighting over the remains of the Great Buddha they should quietly agree to a division, and he himself volunteered to divide the relics into eight equal parts. This advice was accepted and the work of division was entrusted to Drōṇa. After division the relics were transported to the respective

places for enshrinement. *No. 102* : This relief consists of two panels. In the right one the Brāhmaṇa Drōṇa is seated before a table on which eight lumps are placed, denoting the eight parts into which the relics are divided. Two persons dressed in royal attire, evidently Malla chieftains, stand near the relics. In the left panel is shown the transport of the relics ; a person is carrying away one of the shares on horseback. Traces of another horse are also visible. *No. 103* : This consists of two panels, one depicting the transport of relics on horseback and the other, the worship of a stūpa which was doubtless intended for the enshrinement of the relics. *No. 104* : This consists of two panels, the right one showing a procession of horses carrying away the relics, and the left one the worship of a stūpa. *No. 105* : This is an elephant bracket-figure. The animal seems to be carrying a reliquary wrapped in cloth.

WORSHIP OF RELICS

106.—A reliquary decorated with a garland is placed on a throne under an umbrella. Near the throne a lamp is burning and on either side of it is a standing female figure in adoration.

WORSHIP OF TRIRATNA

107-109.—*No. 107* : This relief shows the half-kneeling figure of a man carrying on his head a wheel (*chakra*) which forms the lower part of a trident-shaped *Triratna* symbol, consisting of three wheels. A number of monks stand on either side of the symbol in an attitude of adoration. *Triratna*, as is well known, means 'the three jewels', viz., *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*. *No. 108* : This also represents the worship of *Triratna*, which consists of three interlacing wheels, held aloft by a figure appearing in the relief over the capital of

a decorative pilaster. On both sides of the pilaster there are princes, and monks with heads clean-shaven. Two foot-prints are marked on the base of the pilaster. *No. 109* : Here the *Triratna* symbol, consisting of three wheels, is placed under a trefoil arch on a pedestal on which are marked two seated antelopes. There are devotees on either side of the pedestal.

After dealing with the Buddha's life scenes and those relating to his relics and symbols, we now come to the sculptures in which he appears alone in the form of a divinity—as an object of worship to the followers of the Buddhist Church.

III. THE BUDDHAS

SEATED FIGURES

On the benches along the northern and western walls of the Room, and also in a showcase, are exhibited figures of the Buddha Gautama (Sākyamuni), seated cross-legged, either as *preaching* or as *meditating* or as *offering protection* (Nos. 262-82). In the first attitude, the upturned soles of the feet are exposed, the right shoulder is left bare and the two hands come near the breast, touching each other in a manner suggesting that the Buddha is expounding the Law. In the second, both the shoulders, and in some cases the feet, are covered by the robe and the hands are placed one above the other on the lap, with palms turned upwards. In the third attitude, the Buddha offers protection (*abhaya*), raising his right hand, while his left hand holds the hem of the upper garment.

(i) PREACHING BUDDHA

273-274.—No. 274: Here the Buddha is seated on a lotus.¹ His dreamy, half-shut eyes are specially to be noted. The halo behind the head is plain and circular. The hair is tied into a knot² on the top

¹ Originally most of these lotus-seats or pedestals must have been in two detachable portions: (i) the piece representing seed-capsule with a tenon, forming part of the figure itself and (ii) the inverted petal portion at the base (cf. above, p. 25). Due to the fault of the earlier image-collectors the two pieces were very often separated from one another for the sake of convenience in transport, with the result that there are now in the Museum quite a number of loose pieces of the lower member, but it is not possible to make out to which particular images they belong.

² This crowning portion is usually taken to be the *ushnīsha*, i.e., a miraculous protuberance of the skull, which is one of the distinctive signs of the Great Being (*Mahāpurusha*) attributed to the Buddha in the *Lalitavistara* and other canonical texts. Against this view, see J. N. Banerji, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII (1931), pp. 499 ff.

of the head, the flowing locks separating from the middle of the forehead above a circular mark, known as the *ūrṇā*. The drapery shows a definite attempt to make it close-fitting to the body. The figure is finely modelled, having a distinct softness which reminds us of Gupta sculpture (see *Frontispiece*). No. 273 : Almost similar to it, but more formal and rigid, is No. 273 (Pl. I). These two Buddhas may be regarded as the masterpieces of the collection.

271, 278, 280.—No. 278 : Buddha is seated on throne. The hair is done into broad tresses, tied into a knot by an ornamental fillet which, although a useful appendage, is rather uncanonical. A part of the drapery hangs below the legs. No. 271 : This image has family likeness to No. 278. The hair is tied into a knot on the top of the head by means of a fillet, the locks being directed upwards in parallel curves as in that figure. No. 280 : Buddha is seated on cushion-throne. The dwarfish appearance and heavy face of this figure are to be noted.

272, 281.—No. 281 : Buddha is seated on lotus. The halo is made somewhat elliptical, and the pivot of the umbrella staff is decorated with lotus petals. The figure represents a very much conventionalized type. The body is clumsily modelled and comparatively slim, and the face, which is not so heavy as that of No. 280, shows a queer contortion. There is an attempt to show the body through drapery ; thus the right nipple becomes visible. The end of the robe hangs down below the right leg, almost in the shape of a pendant flower. The lotus-seat is made as broad at the sides as the figure itself. The workmanship is

definitely late and points to the declining period of the School. No. 272 : This Buddha, also seated on lotus, shows heavy and stumpy treatment. Each of the upturned soles of the figure bears two auspicious marks, a wheel and a wavy line. These are the marks of a Great Being (*Mahāpurusha*), common in Mathurā sculpture, but rare in Gandhāra.

266-268, 270.—No. 267 : Buddha is seated on throne. The hair is made into spiral ringlets, each of which is pierced with a hole,¹ and is tied into a knot by a fillet decorated with a semi-circular disc ornament, which is uncanonical. His eyes look forward, instead of being half-shut ; and he is evidently not in that meditative or semi-conscious pose which characterizes the earlier works. The right nipple is seen through the drapery. The feet are clumsily executed. No. 266 : Here is another enthroned Buddha whose hair is made into spiral ringlets with pierced holes as in No. 267. The place of the *ūrnā* is marked by a cavity which must have originally contained a jewel.² No. 268 : Another enthroned preaching Buddha. The relief figure of a Bodhisattva is traceable on the pedestal. No. 270 : This Buddha is seated on a cushion-throne, like No. 280. The face is grotesque and devoid of expression. The ears are disproportionately long and the figure shows stumpy and dwarfish treatment. Its late workmanship is

¹ About 190 A.D. the drill was used in Roman statuary for making curls of hair showing such holes. Walters, *The Art of the Romans*, p. 65.

² Cf. a Buddha with crystal *ūrnā* in the Peshawar Museum. Hargreaves, *Handbook*, Pl. 9 a.

manifest in the drapery, the folds of which degenerate in places into indented lines.

331, 333.—No. 333 : In a showcase is kept this fragment of a preaching Buddha, having slim figure, minute face and small ears. No. 331 : Another fragment of a preaching Buddha kept in the same case shows a definite deterioration of the type as compared to the former. The folds of the drapery are shown in indented lines, the ears are disproportionately long and the eyes are without expression.

275, 277.—No. 275 : Buddha is seated on throne (ii) **MEDITATING** decorated with two Corinthian pilasters. Between **BUDDHA** the pilasters rests an alms-bowl which is worshipped by six kneeling devotees. No. 277 : Another enthroned Buddha. Both have a roundish face, and are probably to be reckoned among the oldest examples of the collection.

276, 279.—No. 276 : Buddha is seated on lotus. A portion of the left foot is exposed, unlike Nos. 275 and 277, and the right foot is traceable beneath the transparent drapery. Compared to those figures it has a longish face, and its ears are disproportionately long. The frill of the upper garment over the left arm is ornamental and schematic. This figure seems to be later in date than the two preceding ones. No. 279 : This Buddha figure, having a plain but slightly elliptical halo, is also seated on lotus. The hair is treated as spiral ringlets and the drapery resembles that of No. 276. The front face of the seat bears a carelessly engraved Kharoshthī inscription in two lines,

which records the gift of one Budhoruma (*Budhorumasa danamukhe*).¹

262, 265.—No. 265: The end of the robe of this enthroned Buddha figure is ornamentally treated as in No. 276, and like it this figure also has a portion of the left foot exposed. The right foot is visible in outline through the transparent drapery. Between the two legs of the throne in front, against a hanging screen, there is a miniature replica of the figure above, attended by two worshipping monks; but it is very crudely executed. No. 262: The throne of this Buddha has a flower carved on each of its two sides and two Corinthian pilasters on the front face. Between the pilasters are two kneeling monks and a couple of Buddhas seated in meditation, the figures being separated from one another by trees. A portion of the left foot of the main figure is exposed. Stylistically it is related to Nos. 275 and 277, but represents a more conventionalized form and seems to be a later production. A point that may be noted regarding the placing of the two palms is that in some specimens (e.g., No. 275) the two thumbs almost touch each other, placed in a straight line, while in others they are placed one above the other (e.g., Nos. 276 and 262).

335, 338.—No. 335: This is also an enthroned Buddha (in showcase). The halo is arched by the overhanging foliage of a tree. On the screen, between the legs of the throne, is the following Kharoshthī inscription in two lines:

- 1 *Budhamitrasa [Bu]dharakshida-*
- 2 *sa sadayarisa dana[mu]kh[e]*

¹ Konow, *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 108 and Pl. XXI, 2.

"The gift of Buddhamitra, the companion of Buddharakshita."¹ No. 338: In the same case is kept a Buddha seated on a box-shaped throne; there is a hanging screen in front below the figure. The workmanship, as well as the particular form of the pedestal, seems to suggest a late date for this sculpture.

263, 264, 334, 336.—No. 263: Buddha is seated on (iii) BUDDHA
throne, ornamented with the usual flowers at the OFFERING PRO-
sides and Corinthian pilasters in front. Between
TECTION
the pilasters is an alms-bowl attended by six
kneeling devotees. From the position of the right
arm it appears to have been in the *abhaya* pose;
the left hand clutches the end of the upper garment
which covers both the shoulders of the figure. No. 264:
This image resembles No. 263 in every respect,
except that on the front face the throne shows five
seated Buddhas in meditation separated from one
another by trees. No. 334: This figure (in showcase)
represents Buddha seated on throne on the front
face of which are carved four eglantine flowers (Pl. II, b).
The fore-parts of the arms are missing, but they were
evidently in the same pose as those of No. 263. The
halo is decorated at the edge by a zigzag line and is
slightly inclined to front. The hair is treated in wavy
curls and above the forehead runs in parallel horizontal
lines. This is quite unlike the figures described above.
Particularly noteworthy are the minute face and the
slim body of the figure. It may be regarded as an
illustration of the transitional type (*circa* 3rd century

¹ Konow, *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 109 and Pl. XXI, 3.

A.D.). No. 336 : Buddha (in showcase) is here seated on a box-shaped throne, in the same pose as in No. 263, but with the right shoulder bare (Pl. II, *a*). The treatment of the hair has to be marked, specially the protuberant portion of the knot which is made highly ornamental. The face of the figure is small like that of No. 334. The front of the pedestal bears two Bodhisattva figures in meditation, of whom one holding a flask should be identified as Maitreya. Between the figures is depicted on a miniature scale the scene of the Indrasāla Cave. Inside the cave the Buddha is seated in meditation. To his left is the god Śakra with folded hands and to his right, the heavenly musician Pañchaśikha playing on the lyre (*cf.* p. 62 above).

**STANDING FIGURES
OFFERING PRO-
TECTION**

On a bench at the south-western corner of the Room (Nos. 254-61), and in a case inside (Nos. 332, 337) are exhibited figures of the Buddha in a standing posture. Although in the majority of cases his hands are either damaged or missing, there is little doubt that he is represented as offering *abhaya* or protection indicated by a gesture of the right hand ; his left hand hangs down in a restful attitude, holding the hem of the garment.

254.—This is a well-known example which comes from Loriyan Tangai. The figure is very much damaged ; the head and the fore-parts of the arms are missing. The rectangular pedestal is decorated with a flower on each of the two sides ; and on its front face is a miniature seated Maitreya holding a flask, attended by four devotees, two on either side. The same face also shows a pair of Corinthian pilasters, and the

projecting rim is ornamented in front with diamond pattern and at the sides with lotus petals. It may be observed that the relief on this pedestal, as on many others, shows rather crude workmanship. It bears an inscription in two lines,¹ in Kharoshthī characters, which reads :

1 *Sa 111 100 10 4 4 Prothavadasa di 20 4 111*
Budhaghoshasa danamu(kho)
 2 *Saghorumasa sadaviyarisa*

It records a donation (*dānamukha*) by one Budhaghosha, *i.e.*, Buddhaghosha, the companion (*sadhyevihārin*) of Saghoruma, on the 27th day of the month of Praushthapada, in the year 318 (see above, pp. 18-20). The gift is, of course, the image itself.

255-261, 332, 337.—No. 255 : The hair of the Buddha is done into wavy locks separating from the middle of the forehead. The place of the *ūrṇā* is marked by a cavity in which originally a jewel must have been set. It should be observed that the right knee is slightly bent forward, which gives the idea of a reposeful attitude. This bending of the right or left knee is characteristic of many of the standing Buddhas in this Gallery. The image seems to have been treated originally with a coating of plaster, of which there are traces all over the body. No. 256 : The halo is decorated with triangular petals at the edge. The right hand of the Buddha is in the *abhaya* pose. There is a hole between the legs for a dowel, which appears also in Nos. 257 and 258. The rectangular pedestal bears in front a series of lotus petals beneath the feet of the figure, suggestive of the

¹ Konow, *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 107 and Pl. XXI, 1.

padmāsana, and below it is Maitreya holding a flask, seated between a tree and a monk devotee ; at the two ends of the relief are two Corinthian pilasters. No. 257 : The figure resembles in many respects No. 256, like which it has also a halo with triangular petals. The rectangular pedestal shows on the front face an alms-bowl between two devotees and there is a Corinthian pilaster at each end. No. 258 : Buddha's pedestal is missing. An attempt is made in this sculpture to show the waist of the figure through the folds of the drapery. The face is rather well modelled and wears a pleasant expression. Compared to it No. 257 appears rather stiff and formal. No. 259 : The figure stands on an oblong pedestal which is much damaged. The two sides of the pedestal bear the design of a honeysuckle. No. 260 : In this sculpture the Buddha stands on lotus (Pl. III, a). Below is the kneeling figure of a devotee. The halo is slightly elliptical and bears the triangular petal decoration. The relief folds of the drapery are not so prominent, many of them being denoted by incised lines. The face is rather minute, and on the whole the figure gives the idea not only of slimness but also of flatness. It is unmistakably a late work. No. 261 : A peculiarity of this figure is that the head is bent to the left. No. 332 : The hair of the Buddha (in showcase) is disposed of in bow-shaped parallel curves separating from the middle of the forehead, and tied up into a knot by a string. The front face of the pedestal is decorated with a Bodhisattva figure seated in meditation between two devotees ; the relief has a Corinthian pilaster at each end ; and on each of the two

sides is carved a flower. No. 337: This figure (in showcase) has a small face, a slim body and delicate feet resting on lotus. The hair is tied into a knot by a string. The halo is decorated at the edge with a creeper pattern. The breasts are made unusually prominent and shown through the folds of the drapery. Between the legs is a rectangular hole for dowel. On stylistic grounds this sculpture is assignable to the transitional period (*circa* 3rd century A.D.).

There are several fragments of Buddha figures in MISCELLANEOUS BUDDHA FRAGMENTS one of the inside cases. Among these special attention may be drawn to the head No. 408. It has a longish face and ears, slightly contorted lips and sunken eyes. The hair of the Buddha is treated in the usual manner in wavy locks, but the knotted portion above the head shows a peculiar ornamentation. It rises in five tiers, one above the other, narrow at the top; the uppermost tier resembles a wheel with spokes.

339-346.—Before we pass on to the next Section PAST BUDDHAS we should consider the reliefs depicting the Past Buddhas. In addition to the images of Gautama, the Gandhāra artists also made representations of the Six Buddhas who are supposed to have flourished before his time. They generally appear as standing (under umbrellas, as in No. 339), dressed in the garb of a monk; and there is no attempt to differentiate them iconographically. In fact, they closely resemble the representations of the Buddha himself in all respects. Unlike Early Indian Schools, however, the Bodhi trees of the respective Buddhas are not shown. It may be noted that most of these reliefs bear the device of a doubled-up garland hanging between one Buddha

figure and another. In Gandhāra reliefs showing eight Buddha figures, the last one is Bodhisattva Maitreya, the Future Buddha and the last but one is Gautama. Often, as in a relief from Muhammad Nari reproduced by Grünwedel,¹ Maitreya can be recognized in the group from his flask. We shall discuss his features and insignia in greater detail when we deal with his separate representations.

¹ Grünwedel, *B. A. I.*, p. 130, fig. 82. See above, p. 18.

IV. THE BODHISATTVAS

The Bodhisattva images (see Introductory, pp. 15-18), **EXHIBITION OF BODHISATTVAS** which should now engage our attention, are exhibited on benches against the eastern and southern walls of the Gandhāra Room, and also in a few showcases (Nos. 283-327). Besides, some detached Bodhisattva heads are displayed separately in two of the cases to illustrate their peculiar coiffure and head-dress.

301-302.—**No. 302:** Maitreya stands on block-**STANDING FIGURES** pedestal with left knee slightly bent forward. The **MAITREYA** pedestal bears on the front face a seated figure in meditation attended by four devotees, and two Corinthian pilasters and a flower on each of the two sides. Over the head of the Bodhisattva is a large looped knot which is peculiar to Maitreya. He bears on the forehead the *ūrṇā* found in all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and has a moustache, which is a common feature of the Bodhisattvas of Gandhāra. The position of the broken right arm shows that originally it was lifted up, holding a part of the scarf. The left arm, which hangs down, probably carried a vessel (cf. No. 301). The figure wears sandals, each of its two straps being ornamented with a lion-head. **No. 301:** Here Maitreya carries a narrow-mouthed decorated vessel¹ in his left hand, and his right knee is

¹ The vessel has been taken by Foucher to be a type of *kaman-dalu* (*A. G. B. G.*, tome II, Pt. I, pp. 218, 234). Another type is the spouted flagon which occurs frequently in Gandhāra reliefs, for instance, in the Nativity scene. The narrow-mouthed vessel of Maitreya is probably a receptacle of holy water or one used for ceremonial purposes. Similar vessels with studded gems are

slightly bent forward. The hair of the figure, unlike that of No. 302, falls in wavy locks on the shoulders, and a part of it is tied into a knot over the head, being held there by a network of beads set with two flowers in front. The necklaces and breast-chains are much damaged ; one of them has a clasp in the shape of a horned animal-head. The armlet which the figure wears shows a pattern that occurs frequently in the jewellery of these Bodhisattvas. It is a group of four conical leaves around a circle, set within a rectangular compartment. As regards the vessel it may be noted that it is profusely decorated, the two principal motifs being the lotus petals and 'the four leaves' just mentioned.

294, 295, 297, 299, 300.—No. 300 : This is also probably Maitreya. His hair falls in wavy locks on the shoulders and is partly tied into a knot over head by means of a chain of beads. The uppermost necklace has animal-head clasps, which is a common feature of Gandhāra jewellery.¹ No. 299 : Maitreya carries a vessel in the left hand. The pedestal, ornamented with Corinthian pilasters, shows an alms-bowl under an umbrella, and four devotees, two females and two males, of whom one is bearded. No. 297 : It is a fairly successful attempt to depict a youthful figure. The hair is treated as in Nos. 301, 300 and 299. The armlet bears the 'four leaves' pattern and the straps of the sandal are decorated with lion-head.

curiously enough known from the Scythian art of South Russia and have been found in the Sarmatian graves (1st-2nd centuries A.D.). Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 132, fig. 18, 3.

¹ See above, pp. 16-17.

Between the Corinthian pilasters on the pedestal is a Bodhisattva seated in meditation, attended by two devotees (Pl. III, b). No. 295: Maitreya in this sculpture prefers to wear wooden sandals instead of the usual leather ones of the strapped pattern. No. 294: The halo of the Bodhisattva is slightly concave and decorated with a zigzag line at the edge. He has the usual ornaments. The vessel he holds in left hand shows a definite deterioration of the type. The pedestal is decorated with a honeysuckle device in panel. The figure is probably of the transitional period (*circa* 3rd century A.D.).

306, 310, 311, 314, 325-27.—No. 306: This figure (in showcase), probably one of Maitreya, stands on lotus. The uppermost necklace has two human figures facing each other, as clasps, instead of the usual animal-heads. The portion of the breast around the right nipple is unusually developed. The straps of the sandals are decorated with animal-heads. No. 311: The halo of the image (in showcase) is decorated at the edge with a zigzag line. The ear-ornament is a pendant animal figure and the uppermost necklace is fitted with horned animal-head clasps. The straps of the sandals are also decorated with animal-heads. The scarf passing over the arms falls on the left side, terminating in an ornamental knot. The string fastening the loin-cloth at the waist is visible through the transparent drapery. The pedestal is similar to that of No. 297. No. 310: The halo of the figure (in showcase) is plain and the treatment of the hair is like that of No. 311, although it is rather crudely executed. The figure has the region of the navel exposed,

unlike No. 311. It has the usual block-pedestal with decoration similar to that of No. 297. *No. 314* : The halo of this figure (in showcase) is decorated at the edge with a series of triangular petals. The armlets are not shown at all. The navel of the figure is marked by an oblique stroke and is not circular as in the earlier representations. The sandal straps are ornamented with two flowers instead of animal-heads. The pedestal is of oblong shape, of which the top portion resembles a lotus and the bottom shows two Corinthian pilasters ; in between the pilasters is an almsbowl attended by two devotees. This form of the pedestal, which has the Corinthian pilasters as well as the shape of a lotus, is interesting, as it marks the *transition* from the pilastered throne to the lotus-seat which became a regular feature during the Gupta period in Northern India (see p. 26 above). *No. 326* : The Bodhisattva (in showcase) stands on lotus, holding a plain vessel in his left hand (Pl. V, b). His halo is decorated with triangular petals at the edge. A point worthy of note is that the figure has bare feet. Its crude and stumpy treatment, the peculiar halo and the lotus pedestal undoubtedly mark it as a late product. *No. 325* : In this the Bodhisattva (in showcase) stands on a block-pedestal decorated with three eglantine flowers in front and a plant design on each of the two sides. He wears knobbed wooden sandals instead of the strapped ones. In point of treatment the figure resembles No. 326, from which probably it is not far removed in date. *No. 327* : Bodhisattva on block-pedestal (in showcase) ornamented with two Corinthian pilasters, between which there is a Bodhisattva

seated in meditation attended by two devotees. The halo is decorated at the edge by a zigzag line. The figure is bedecked with the usual ornaments. Its hair has the peculiar network of beads with a crescent in front above a circle. A similar ornament appears on the heads of Sassanian kings on their coins. The halo is pierced with a hole for dowel, and so also is the back-slab between the feet.

288, 289, 293.—No. 293 : The Bodhisattva is seated **SEATED MAITREYA** on lotus, in meditative pose, with hands placed on the **FIGURES** lap, holding a vessel suspended through the fingers. He has a plain halo and the usual necklace, breast-chains, ear-rings, bangles and armlets. No. 289 : This image is similar to No. 293. Of its necklaces the uppermost one has animal-head clasps, between which is inserted a faceted bead. No. 288 : This is also a lotus-seated Maitreya (Pl. IV, b), holding a vessel as in No. 293. On the top of the halo there is trace of the pivot of the umbrella staff. A feature about the head, which is clear in this figure, is that the large knot of hair rests on a high protuberance like the *ushnīsha* of Gandhāra Buddhas.

283, 284, 308, 309.—No. 284 : The Bodhisattva is seated on throne decorated with a crude Corinthian pilaster at each end and a row of six Bodhisattvas seated in meditation in between. His hair, unlike that of No. 288, is decorated with a network of beads and does not show the top-knot. The right hand is lifted up in the *abhaya* pose and the left holds the vessel (Pl. IV, a). No. 283 : This image also represents Maitreya seated on throne (*simhāsana*) decorated with two lions, one at each end. The top-knot has

degenerated into an element somewhat resembling the peacock's crest. The halo is slightly elliptical and has an indented line all along the edge. The vessel, it should be noted, bears no decoration. The figure has only two necklaces of which the upper one has animal-head clasps ; and the ear-ornaments consist of pendant animal figures. The armlets are not shown at all. The scarf covers the left shoulder and the breast, and leaves the right shoulder bare. The drapery is treated in a very much conventional way, being almost wholly indicated by incised lines. The figure is undoubtedly a late product of the School. *No. 308* : The throne of Maitreya (in showcase) is supported by two lions. The pupils of the eyes of the figure are marked. He holds a flask between the fingers of his left hand, and the right hand is raised in the attitude of *abhaya*. He has got three necklaces and breast-chains instead of four. The figure bears a Kharoshthi inscription of two lines on the back, not yet noticed by any scholar, of which only the portion *ka 4 100*, probably standing for *kāla 400*, *i.e.*, 'the year 400' of some era is intelligible. *No. 309* : Maitreya (in showcase) is seated in meditative pose on throne, the legs of which are treated like the lion's paws. The figure is executed in flat relief. A screen hanging between the legs of the throne bears the figures of two devotees and a lamp burning.

FIGURES OF
ĀVALOKITEŚVARA,
ETC.

296, 298.—No. 298 : This Bodhisattva standing on lotus is probably Avalokiteśvara. He wears the usual jewellery and sandals ; the central motif of the armlet is a flower. His turban is studded in front with a conical jewel, and shows behind the ears two hanging

looped knots which are found also in other images, *e.g.*, Nos. 296, 307 and 318. These appendages are similar to those in the head-dresses of Parthian kings of the first and second centuries A.D., appearing on their coins.¹ No. 296: In point of style it is similar in every respect to the preceding figure. The Bodhisattva stands on lotus. The left hand rests on the hip, holding the scarf. An unusual feature is that the head of the figure is bent to the left side. On the pedestal to his left is a miniature figure of a devotee with folded hands. This Bodhisattva has the same type of head-dress and armlet as in No. 298.

292.—Here a Bodhisattva is seated in meditation on throne, the front face of which shows a similar figure in meditative pose attended by four devotees. He has two necklaces, a breast-chain, and a peculiar turban ornamented by two animal-heads in front and a griffin on each side. The muscles of the breast and belly are treated in a realistic manner, suggestive of early workmanship.

287, 290, 291.—No. 291: This is Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi seated on throne. His right hand is in the *abhaya* pose and the left holds a lotus with stem. He has a turban with a conical ornament, showing the usual knots at the two sides. The two devotees on the pedestal, attending on a meditating Bodhisattva, considered from their head-dresses, may be Brahmā on the right and Śakra on the left. No. 290: This Bodhisattva, who is also Padmapāṇi (holding a lotus), is seated on a high cushioned throne with long baluster

¹ See coins of Artabanus III.—Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, Pl. XXV, fig. 6.

legs. His left foot and the sandal of the right foot rest on a stool, while the right leg is bent across the left knee. He has the usual ornaments and his turban bears an animal-head in the centre instead of the conical ornament of No. 291. The forepart of the right arm is missing, but from what remains there is no doubt that the figure was in the attitude of offering protection. *No. 287* : Here also we have an image of Padmapāṇi (Pl. V, a). He is represented as seated on a high decorated stool of wicker-work over which are placed two cushions, one upon another. It may be noted that this type of throne is found also in a Mathurā Bodhisattva (see above, p. 25). The right arm, which was evidently in the *abhaya* pose, is now broken ; the left hand holds a full-blown lotus. The left foot as well as the sandal of the right one rests on a stool bearing the appearance of the seed-vessel of the lotus, while the right leg is drawn up (cf. No. 290). The back-slab representing the rear part of the throne is decorated with scroll pattern. The stool bears a fragmentary Kharoshthi inscription which reads : *Amohaasa dana-mukhe i.e., 'Gift of Amoghaka.'*¹

285, 320.—No. 285 : A Bodhisattva seated in meditation on throne. He wears the peculiar turban with conical ornament and side knots. The front face of the throne shows in relief a Bodhisattva similarly seated, attended by two devotees. *No. 320* : The Bodhisattva (in showcase) is seated in meditation. He wears the four necklaces and breast-chains and also a lion-shaped ear-ornament attached to a hanging

¹ Konow reads *Akshaiasa* (C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 110), while Vogel reads *Amohakasa* (A. S. R., 1903-4, p. 254).

chain. He has a turban bedecked with jewels, the central ornament being a lion's head disgorging pearl strings. The figure is seated on a throne with legs simulating lion's paws.

307, 315.—No. 307 : This standing figure (in showcase) is probably Avalokiteśvara. The right arm is bent inwards touching the body, while the left arm which is broken probably rests on the hip. The turban is decorated with the usual conical ornament, and below it are prominently shown the wavy tresses of hair. The folds of the drapery are suggested by indentations and not relief lines. Of the ornaments, the usual breast-chain stretching sideways is wanting in this image. Mark the plain character of the ear-ornament and the armlet worn by the figure. It is undoubtedly a late product of the School. No. 315 : Here the Bodhisattva (in showcase) stands on block-pedestal, on which are carved two Corinthian pilasters with a seated Buddha in meditation in between, attended by four devotees. The loin-cloth of the Bodhisattva is tied with an ornamental belt and he has two necklaces and a breast-chain of amulets. The turban does not bear the conical ornament ; instead of it there is the device of a Garuḍa carrying off a human being or a Nāga. A similar Garuḍa device occurs also on two fragmentary pieces, *viz.*, Nos. 167 and 168, of the Museum. Below the Garuḍa figure there are two griffins facing each other. The circular plastic layer around the head of Garuḍa is probably meant to represent its halo.

312.—The Bodhisattva (in showcase) is seated on throne in meditative pose, holding what looks like a

closed lotus but may have been a crude representation of the vessel held by Maitreya figures. The hair is, however, not treated like that of Maitreya but resembles that of Avalokiteśvara.

318.—The figure (in showcase) which is standing may be that of Avalokiteśvara having the turban studded with the conical ornament. The stylized drapery and the elongated ear-lobes are indications of a late period.

316, 317, 323, 324.—No. 316 : This Bodhisattva (in showcase) whose face bears a characteristic Mongolian cut is seated, probably on the seed-vessel of a lotus, and is in the preaching attitude. The sculpture is crudely executed and may be one of the latest products of the Gandhāra School. No. 317 : The Bodhisattva figure (in showcase) is seated on throne. The right hand was probably raised in the attitude of *abhaya* and the left touched the end of the garment ; both the hands are now broken. It has staring eyes with pupils well marked. The halo, which is plain, is rather small as compared to that of other figures. The figure has a short necklace, a hanging chain and a jewelled turban with fan-like crest. On the forehead there is an empty hole which must have once contained a jewel. There is another hole through the breast of the figure, which was probably used for a dowel. It is undoubtedly another late product of the School. No. 323 : The Bodhisattva (in showcase) is seated on throne in meditative pose, wearing the usual necklaces, etc. The throne has baluster legs between which there is a foot-stool. The figure wears a turban with jewelled front and probably represents Avalokiteśvara. The halo is decorated

with a zigzag line at the edge and forms part of the back-slab (as in mediæval sculpture). The wavy line decoration of the halo is continued further on the back.

No. 324 : Here the Bodhisattva (in showcase) is seated with one leg tucked up and the other hanging down. The right hand, which is broken, was probably raised in the attitude of *abhaya*, while the left hand holds a lotus (*Padmapāni*). The figure wears a turban, bedecked with a string of pearls, and other usual ornaments.

V. HĀRITI AND PĀÑCHIKA

STORY OF HĀRITI

Sculptures representing the semi-divine Yaksha couple Hāriti and Pāñchika are exhibited in a case of this Gallery (Nos. 110-120). Their identification is principally based on an account given by the Chinese traveller I-tsing (671 A.D.). In a former birth Hāriti, from some cause or other, made a vow to devour all the babes at Rājagṛiha. "In consequence of this wicked vow, she forfeited her life, and was reborn as a Yakṣī, and gave birth to five hundred children. Everyday she ate some babes at Rājagṛiha, and the people informed the Buddha of this fact. He took and concealed one of her own children, which she called Her Beloved Child. She sought for it from place to place, and at last happened to find it near the Buddha." "Art thou so sorry," said the World-honoured One to her, "for thy lost child, thy beloved ? Thou lamentest for only one lost out of five hundred ; how much more grieved are those who have lost their only one or two children on account of thy cruel vow ? " Touched by these words, soon the ogress was converted, but in her anxiety for her children she asked the Buddha, "How shall my five hundred children subsist hereafter ?" The Buddha replied, "In every monastery, where Bhikshus dwell, thy family shall partake of sufficient food, offered by them everyday." The Chinese traveller observes: "For this reason, the image of Hāriti is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining-hall of all Indian monasteries depicting

her as holding a babe in her arms, and round her knees three or five children.”¹

Hāritī, who is represented in Gandhāra sculpture either as standing or seated, can be readily recognized from the children hanging around her. Her male companion has been identified as the Yaksha War-lord (*senāpati*) Pāñchika.² In the standing figures he is rather scantily dressed; he wears just a loin-cloth (*kaupīna*), while another cloth hangs loosely around his body, leaving bare the upper part and almost the whole of the lower, in which respect he resembles the figure of Vajrapāni occurring in some reliefs.³ In one of the sculptures (No. 112) he appears bearded, with a child resting on his right arm, which reminds one of Silenus carrying the infant Dionysus. Most of the sculptures in our collection representing the standing group seem to be earlier than the seated figures, inasmuch as the latter are generally crude in execution. In the muscular treatment of Pāñchika, as well as in the drapery of his wife and of his own, especially in the standing figures, one sees an unmistakable Hellenistic influence. In some reliefs (e.g., Nos. 113, 117, 118) it is clear that Hāritī wears shoes, which again is to be regarded as an un-Indian feature. Both Hāritī and Pāñchika are dispensers of riches. The military career of Pāñchika is suggested by the lance upon which in the seated figures he is made to lean, while his rôle as a dispenser of fortune can be guessed from the purse

¹ Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, Oxford, 1896, p. 37.

² For a full account of this couple see Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome II, pp. 102-162.

³ Cf. remark above, p. 9.

held by him in some reliefs (not represented in the Indian Museum). Quite in keeping with this, Hāritī often carries a *cornucopia* or 'the horn of plenty', while in some cases she is seen as doling out eatables in a pan-shaped vessel. Some sculptures again represent coins being poured out of a bag beneath the feet of the seated couple. Most of the sculptures in our collection are fragmentary and do not preserve all these features, but representations of Hāritī and Pāñchika have been discovered in Gandhāra in abundance and are kept in other Museums, in which the various characteristics can be observed.

110-116.—*No. 110* : The couple, Hāritī and Pāñchika, are standing under a tree in blossom, the male occupying a place to the right of the female (Pl. XII, *b*). The right hand of Pāñchika rests on his hip and the left hand on the shoulder of his wife. She stretches out her right hand towards her husband, while in the left she carries an object looking like a noose. A naked child stands between them. There is another figure in the upper background which also may be that of a child. *No. 111* : Similar to above, but the male stands to the left of the female. The right hand of Pāñchika, which is partly missing, seems to be clasping the left hand of Hāritī. There is the figure of a child in the upper background and another such figure appears standing between the couple. *No. 112* : Pāñchika is here represented as bearded. His right hand, which is lost, was evidently placed on hip and the left arm on the shoulder of his wife who turns to the right and seems to be fleeing from him. A small naked child rests on the right arm of Pāñchika.

No. 113 : The same couple standing under blossoming trees, the male occupying a position to the left of the female. Hāriti holds by the right hand the handle of a pan-shaped vessel, evidently containing eatables. A naked child stands between them, while another child is seated to the left of Pāñchika. *No. 114* : Pāñchika seems to be offering something, while a child is striding towards Hāriti. The execution is crude as compared to the foregoing examples. *No. 116* : This shows only the erect muscular figure of a male person, who from the treatment and drapery appears to be no other than Pāñchika, the sculpture being the fragment of a relief representing this couple.

117-120.—*No. 117* : They are here seated on a long bench. The left foot of Pāñchika rests on a stool, while on another stool are placed both the feet of Hāriti. Pāñchika is dressed in tunic and carries a lance. A child appears between them as usual, and is seen approaching towards Hāriti. *No. 118* : This is another representation of the same couple seated on a bench. Pāñchika holds a bowl before his wife from which the latter seems to have taken out some eatables for herself, and perhaps also for her child who is seen in the upper background. There is a halo round the head of Hāriti. *No. 119* : Another relief showing the same couple seated as in *No. 117*. Pāñchika who carries a lance has a halo round his head. *No. 120* : Here the same couple is seated as in *No. 117*.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

A. ADDITIONAL RELIEF SCENES

ADDITIONAL RELIEFS

Miscellaneous reliefs (Nos. 121-149) illustrating scenes of the Buddha's life, which are either unidentified or whose identification is still doubtful, or such as are duplicates of those already described, are exhibited separately on the inner side of showcases to the south of the Central Stūpa.

BUDDHA OFFERING PROTECTION, VAJRAPĀNI, ETC.

121.—This relief is divided into three panels by pilasters. The major portion of one of the panels is missing, leaving only a figure of Vajrapāni. He is fully dressed, wears stockings and has a cap-like head-gear. The middle panel shows the Buddha under a tree, his right hand raised in the attitude of *abhaya*. He is attended by four persons one of whom is carrying some offering. In the next panel, the Buddha turns towards a person who stands in front of a hut, holding a pot in hand. Here Vajrapāni, who accompanies the Buddha, carries the thunderbolt in the right hand and a fly-whisk in the left. He is dressed as in the other panel. There are also two other figures one of which seems to wear a jewelled crown. The relief remains unidentified.

BUDDHA'S REPAST

122, 123.—These two reliefs probably illustrate the story of Śrigupta. Mark the table of eatables placed before the Buddha, the bowl in his hand and also the monks engaged in eating, before each of whom a table is likewise spread. No. 123 is a fragment, while No. 122

retains most of the details. The latter shows a person approaching with a bowl or dish in hand preceded by two other persons. The middle one who is looking back towards the dish-bearer may be Śrīgupta. The person standing to the right of the Buddha with folded hands is probably Śrīgupta again after his discomfiture.¹

125.—It belongs to a group of three stelae and is STELE WITH LIFE SCENES divided into at least five rectangular panels arranged vertically, flanked by a number of smaller panels which are purely of a decorative character. The larger panels represent scenes from the Buddha's life. In the topmost panel, which is very much damaged, the Buddha is seated with his right hand in *abhaya* attitude. In the next, a Bodhisattva is standing, surrounded by a number of attendants. This probably shows Gautama in the Tushita heaven where he was residing in the company of gods prior to his descent on earth. In the third panel, he appears again in the role of the Buddha, seated in the same attitude as in the topmost one, and to his right is a boy standing with folded hands, who may be Rāhula.² The fourth panel shows again a standing Bodhisattva as in the second panel, and in the fifth one a Buddha is seated under a tree in the meditative pose.

126.—The preaching Buddha seated on a high LOTUS-SEAT seems to be a part of the Great Miracle scene.³ A noteworthy feature of almost all the reliefs of the Great Miracle, as here, is the flowers and garlands appearing above the Buddha's head.

¹ Cf. above, p. 56. For another interpretation of No. 122 see Bloch, *Supp. Cat.*, p. 24.

² Cf. above, p. 51.

³ Cf. above, p. 63.

KĀŚYAPA LEGEND

127.—It illustrates the conversion of Urubilva Kāśyapa (above, p. 49). The execution is rather crude.

**SUBDUEING OF
NĀLAGIRI**

128.—The subject matter of this relief is the subduing of the elephant Nālagiri by the Buddha at Rājagrīha (above, p. 54).

BUDDHA'S SERMON

130, 131.—Both represent the Buddha preaching to lay disciples and monks.

**OFFERING TO
BUDDHA;
MAITREYA**

129.—This seems to consist of two scenes. On the right, the Buddha appears with Vajrapāni, and a person is taking out something from a vessel probably to make an offering. The other scene on the left shows the Bodhisattva Maitreya seated on a throne holding a vessel in hand, attended by a number of persons, some of whom are seated on high stools. This scene remains unidentified.

**STELE WITH LIFE
SCENES**

133.—This is another of the stelae and consists of six panels vertically arranged, one above the other. Along the right side of these panels there occur a number of smaller compartments, each depicting a couple of boys in various playful attitudes. The corresponding portion along the left side also shows decorative figures, but it is very much damaged. In the centre, the top-most panel represents the Nursling of the Dead Woman, the second one, the Great Miracle of Śrāvasti, the third, the Submission of Nāga Kālika, the fourth, the Buddha preaching, the fifth, the Bodhisattva standing among devotees, and the lowermost one depicts a preaching scene in which the Buddha appears seated as in the fourth panel.

**VISIT TO
KĀPILAVASTU ?**

134.—It shows the Buddha seated on a throne supported by lions (*simhāsana*), his right hand lifted up as in the preaching scene. To his left are

seated a number of princely figures, two of whom, evidently a king and a queen, sit cross-legged on inverted lotuses. On two sides of the Buddha's head flowers are depicted as in the Great Miracle scene. The identity of this scene is doubtful, but it may represent the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu where he preached to the Śākyas. The two figures seated on lotuses may in that case be Śuddhodana and Mahāprajāpati. A similar relief is exhibited on the northern wall (No. 134 *a*), in which the story is delineated on a larger scale.

135.—In this scene the figure of the Buddha occurs Aṅgulimāla? twice and a man is seen lowering his head, the locks of his hair stretched over the ground. This relief remains unidentified, but the occurrence of the stooping figure seems to suggest his identity with Aṅgulimāla,¹ the murderer 'who cut off a finger from each person he killed, and strung the fingers into a garland' which he wore. Eventually, even this murderer was converted by the Buddha. The Chinese travellers Fa-hien and Hiuen-tsang refer to the story of Aṅgulimāla and place his conversion at Śrāvasti.

136.—The Buddha is seated under a tree in the attitude of preaching, with the right hand raised in the *abhaya* pose. Originally it must have consisted of two scenes. One of the scenes was depicted in the right hand section of the relief, the major portion of which is missing. But we can recognize a monk carrying a stool or a seat with both hands (*cf.* No. 145). It may denote the offering of a seat to the Buddha, so that the panel

¹ Cf. Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome II, p. 12, fig. 304. Also Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, Second ed., p. 257 and Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 381.

probably depicts his reception at a particular place.¹ In the left hand portion of the relief the Buddha is being approached by a lady, and at least two monks are seated by his side. According to Bloch² this relief may represent his reception at Vaiśālī and the donation of a mango grove to the Buddha by the courtesan Āmrapāli. But this is doubtful.

MAN PLUCKING FLOWER

138.—In this relief the Buddha appears with Vajrapāṇi and two adoring figures, and a man is engaged in plucking probably a flower from a tree. This also has not been identified.

MAN TIED TO A TREE, UNDER GUARDS

137.—This is a unique scene not noticed elsewhere. Under a tree is a brick-built hut with a parrot perched on it. A man is tied to the tree, while some armed guards are waiting behind the hut. Towards the man, who seems to have been condemned to death, the Buddha is approaching followed by Vajrapāṇi and others. Vajrapāṇi carries a thunderbolt and a fly-whisk. This scene has not yet been identified.

STELE WITH LIFE SCENES

139.—This is another stele like Nos. 118 and 119, divided into six panels arranged in a vertical row. A scroll pattern runs along the right side and a vertical series of arches with a boy under each arch in different poses occurs along the left side. Of the middle panels, the second, the fourth and the sixth are practically the same, showing a Bodhisattva standing under an umbrella surrounded by a number of

¹ In connection with the Buddha's reception at Sārnāth there is an account in *Lal.*, I, p. 408 (*kaśchit āsanam-upanāmayati sma, etc.*) which notes the formalities to be observed on such occasions.

² *Supp. Cat.*, p. 20; cf. similar reliefs identified as Āmrapāli's donation of the Mango grove in Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome I, p. 487, fig. 244 and p. 491, fig. 245.

devotees, which probably illustrates his life in the Tushita heaven. The first panel shows the Buddha standing, but does not recall any particular scene. The third panel may represent the Offering of Dust by two boys (p. 58 above), while the fifth one should be identified as the Invitation of Śrigupta. In the latter, the Buddha and his disciples stand on lotuses and a man, evidently Śrigupta, is taking something (food) out of a bowl held by an attendant (p. 57 above).

140.—Fragment showing a person fallen on his **MAN CARRIED AWAY IN STREAM** back, his right hand resting on the mouth of a pitcher. It seems that the person has gone to fetch water from a tank or a stream and there met with an accident. He is evidently being carried away. Separated from him by a tree stands another figure, no doubt the same man proceeding to the water before the accident. To his right is a hut in which a woman is seated. It may represent a Jātaka story, probably the *Syāma-jātaka*.

141.—This is a fragment of a big relief containing **GODS REJOICING** five mutilated figures some of which represent gods. One of them is standing with folded hands and another is whistling with two fingers placed at the mouth and waving a scarf, as a sign of rejoicing.¹ A similar figure occurs in a group in No. 128, which represents the subduing of Nālagiri, and also in the scene of the Nativity, e.g. in Nos. 15 and 16.

¹ In the *Dīry*. (p. 158), the gods are said to have been engaged in rejoicing and waved their garment (*chātula-vikshepa*) when the Buddha performed the Great Miracle at Śrāvasti. No. 141 may as well be a part of a relief representing that scene. For a similar rendering of the rejoicing of the gods see the Enlightenment scene at Bharhut.

**BUDDHA AND
MĀRA**

142.—It is a part of a relief showing Māra approaching the Buddha with a view to dissuade him from austerities. A seat is placed under the Bodhi tree and near it Māra, his wife and companions are waiting.

**GAUTAMA'S
APPROACH TO THE
BODHI TREE**

144.—It is divided into two panels separated by a pilaster. The right one shows the Buddha approaching the Bodhi tree followed by Vajrapāṇi and four other attendants including a monk (see above, p. 45). The left panel shows the Buddha standing, surrounded by devotees and Vajrapāṇi. It may be noted that in the right panel Vajrapāṇi is dressed in kilt, whereas in the left one he appears almost nude.

FIRST SERMON

143, 146.—In relief No. 143, the Buddha, as suggested by the symbol of a deer, is delivering the First Sermon (above, p. 48). There are three arched panels above. The topmost panel shows Maitreya standing with two adoring figures at his sides. The middle panel has three figures peeping out of a balcony, and the lowermost one depicts the worship of the Buddha's bowl. Another example of the First Sermon scene is No. 146. The audience here includes three monks seated by the side of the Buddha and a person leaning on a staff listening to him with all attention.

**BUDDHA'S
RECEPTION AT
SĀRNĀTH**

145.—In this relief the Buddha is seen approaching a seat. Behind are Vajrapāṇi and a number of persons in princely attire. Facing him are the five disciples and also a group of persons richly dressed. One of the monks seems to be offering a seat to the Buddha. There are also present a few gods, one of whom is throwing flowers. Most of the persons stand with folded hands, and Vajrapāṇi carries in the left hand a thunderbolt and in the right a fly-whisk.

with which he is fanning the Buddha. This relief probably represents the Buddha's reception at Sārnāth before he delivered the First Sermon.¹ Cf. No. 136.

147.—There are six figures in this relief including SUPPLICATING the Buddha. He is standing with his right hand raised NĀGA (APALĀLA ?) in the attitude of giving protection (*abhaya*) to a suppliant Nāga who is kneeling before him as in the scene of Apalāla. In the centre, a woman is being dragged away by a man, and at the left end a person (Vajrapāni ?) is represented as throwing something. Below him is the much damaged figure of a person who seems to be engaged in collecting some object from the ground.

148.—At the extreme right of the relief, a man is BUDDHA, standing at a gateway with bent head and clasped BODHISATTVAS, hands, evidently welcoming somebody. To the left VAJRAPĀNI is a group of seven figures of which four appear to be divinities. The second figure from the right holds something in its uplifted right hand. The next bears resemblance to the Avalokiteśvara figures of the Gāndhāra School with the conical jewel in the crest. Before it kneels a figure with folded hands. Nearby is another with flowing hair which may represent Maitreya. At the end of the group appears the Buddha attended by Vajrapāni.

149.—The principal figure in the relief is a Buddha BUDDHA AND sitting cross-legged. A monk kneels before him, and TREE-SPIRIT there are besides a male and a female dressed in princely attire. In the background is a tree in which is stationed a female figure, evidently representing some tree-spirit.

¹ Sahni, *Indian Art and Letters*, London, N. S., Vol. VIII, p. 122.

To the right is another figure standing in a supplianting attitude.

B. STUCCOES AND TERRACOTTAS

STUCCO AND TERRACOTTA FIGURES

So far we have been examining sculptures all executed in stone. We should now consider a selected group of stuccoes and terracottas, comprising figures and heads of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, etc. (Nos. 373-398). In this group may be seen also an Atlante figure (No. 381) which radically differs in treatment from those in stone (p. 112 below). Some of the stuccoes come from Taxila, a few samples from which site are also exhibited in a showcase in the southern section of the New Hall adjoining. Along with the stuccoes displayed in the Gandhāra Room there are two profusely ornamented terracotta heads (Nos. 397, 398). Of these, No. 397, with a faint smile on its lips, shows delicate modelling and is particularly attractive.

STUCCO SUPERSEDING STONE

The stuccoes from Taxila were excavated at Jaulian and other sites by the Archaeological Department. The site of Jaulian (5th century A. D.), representing one of the latest Buddhist settlements of Taxila, yielded not only stucco figures but also figures made of clay, while the stone sculptures found there were remarkably few. This paucity may be attributed partly to the long distance separating Taxila from the hills of the northern borderland of Peshawar and partly to the supersession of stone by stucco in the decoration of buildings that generally took place all over Gandhāra. Foucher observes, "Nowhere yet have any stuccoed monuments been brought to light and preserved in such a good condition as the Jaulian

stūpas."¹ There is no doubt that stucco played an important part in the later stages of the Gandhāra School, and incidentally it is worth noting that contemporary stucco figures are much superior to those executed in stone.² Indeed the specimens that are exhibited here show exquisite modelling and a remarkable variety of types. In our collection there are just a few fragments of stucco figures (displayed in another room) from the Buddhist Stūpa of Mohenjodaro in Sind. These, referable to about the third century A. D., show definitely the technique of the Later Gandhāra School. Decoration of Buddhist buildings by stucco seems to have been greatly in vogue on the North-Western Frontier from about this time down to the 5th century A. D. It was practised also in Afghanistan and Central Asia. In the Kabul valley, which includes ancient Kapiśa (Kohistan) and Nagarahāra (Jalālābād), some of the masterpieces in stucco have been discovered by the French Mission.³ These have come from Bamiyan, Hadda and other sites, dating from the third and fourth centuries A. D.

C. DECORATIVE SCULPTURES AND ARCHITECTURAL PIECES

The visitor may now proceed to the outer show-**MISCELLANEOUS** cases on the north, facing the Bharhut Room, which **RELIEFS** contain certain select examples of architectural pieces and decorative sculptures collected from various places

¹ *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 7, p. 22.

² Cf. remarks, pp. 21, 28 above.

³ Cf. e.g. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Kern Institute, 1928, Pl. V, a.

in Gandhāra (Nos. 150-253). A few of them are also fixed to the eastern, northern and western walls of the Room. As it would not be profitable to enter into a minute description of these specimens, attention may be drawn only to the essential features of a few typical examples.

ATLANTES

159-166.—The decorative sculptures kept in one of the cases include a group of seated Atlante figures leaning to front, represented as carrying a heavy burden on the back. Although Yakshas doing similar service occur at Bharhut, often as carrying an edifice, these Atlante figures of Gandhāra seem to belong to a different class altogether, produced under definite Hellenistic influence. They are frequently endowed with wings and the treatment of the muscles and the beard of the figures are characteristically Hellenistic (e.g. Pl. XII, a).

TREE-SPIRIT, DRINKING COUPLE AND WRESTLERS

150-153, 155, 158.—In the same showcase are also exhibited a group of female figures standing under tree (Nos. 150-153). They represent either Māyā, the Buddha's mother, or some tree-spirit. These figures, as we have seen elsewhere, were inserted in the middle of a relief in order to divide it into separate panels. One of the figures has the right hand raised touching the leaves of the tree, while two others place that hand on the hip. A relief exhibited nearby shows a drinking scene in which a couple (*mithunā*) appears standing under an arch (No. 155). Another relief (No. 158) represents a wrestling combat in which four wrestlers take part, while three other persons in the background witness the scene.¹

¹ Cf. Foucher, *A. G. B. G.*, tome II, pp. 10-11.

154.—A small figure kept in this case represents the **SUN GOD** Sun God driving his quadriga. In the chariot he is seated on a throne, and below it is a naked muscular figure in a kneeling posture looking upwards, the identity of which is not clear. A similar Sun figure appears also on one of the capitals (No. 242) fixed to the eastern wall of the Room, as mentioned below.

211, 212, 227, 241-245.—The capitals of **Gandhāra CAPITALS** pillars and pilasters, as pointed out elsewhere, are almost entirely of the Corinthian or Indo-Corinthian order, their chief feature being the foliated acanthus ornament. Three of the simpler ones are displayed in the showcases in the top row (Nos. 211, 212, 227). The most elaborate ornamentation occurs in No. 241 (Pl. XIII, *b*) fixed to the eastern wall, which shows a standing Bodhisattva figure amidst acanthus leaves, with a human-headed and winged animal figure and a rosette (lotus) over each of the two volutes. Another capital, but one that is very much weathered, is also fixed to the same wall (No. 242). It bears the figure of the Sun God driving a chariot drawn by four horses (quadriga), of which an earlier example occurs on the Buddha-Gayā Railing (1st century B. C.). Close-by are exhibited, on the northern wall, three more capitals, of which No. 243 shows the crude figure of a Buddha seated in meditation. The other two are more delicately carved: No. 244 contains a Bodhisattva preaching, seated between two attending figures, and No. 245 has a Buddha figure seated in meditation between similar attendants.

174, 175, 177, 188, 182, 200, 215-217, 230, etc.—Quite **DECORATIVE** a number of interesting friezes that once decorated **FRIEZES, ETC.**

the façades of stūpas and vihāras are displayed here.

(a) *Floral motifs* : - Friezes representing a huge undulating garland carried by children in various poses (Pl. XIII, a) are of common occurrence in Gandhāra (Nos. 182, 200, 215-217, 236-238). As pointed out already, this pattern is derived from the garland-carrying Erotes in Classical art. The patterns are often composed of a mixture of classical and Indian floral motifs, e.g., a row of triangular compartments with a honeysuckle in each (No. 188), a continuous line of acanthus leaves (No. 56), eglantine flowers (No. 35), or lotuses (No. 177), and an undulating creeper dividing the space into circular compartments from the stem of which emanate clusters of *Pipal* leaves with tendrils (No. 175). In one instance, each of the compartments made by a vine creeper contains the figure of a playful child or a goat, or a couple of children (No. 174).

(b) *Animal and human motifs* : While some of the reliefs are decorated with purely floral or plant devices there are others, and these are either triangular corner plaques or rectangular central plaques used in various compositions, which bear decoration consisting of human and animal forms. Mention may be made of a relief showing a man riding on a lion (No. 196). The idea of the lion-rider is rendered with greater vigour in two other plaques (Nos. 201, 202) which show a recumbent lion with its rider trying to get the rebellious animal under control by twisting its tail ! (Pl. XI, b). Another plaque (No. 197) bears the figure of a peacock ; two other pieces (Nos. 195, 198)

represent the 'marine horse' having the body of the crocodile, while there is another relief (No. 199) identified as *Gigantomachia*, illustrating a battle between gods and giants.

(c) *Architectural motifs*: Among architectural pieces there are several bearing representations of monasteries and temples with vaulted roof (Nos. 204, 206, 246, 247, the last two on north wall), modillion cornices (Nos. 183, 184) and railings, and projected balconies (Nos. 208, 209, 221) with inmates of houses peeping out. The last decoration is reminiscent of the Bharhut reliefs and is on the whole in direct conformity with Indian tradition. To the same group belong friezes (Nos. 190, 192, 210) with a continuous row of stepped merlons (or battlements), which also occur at Bharhut and are an adaptation of an older, Assyrian, motif.

228, 229, 248, 249.—A few bracket-figures of the BRACKET-FIGURES collection may be noticed, of which two kept in the showcases represent human figures, one male and another female (Nos. 229, 228), while a pair of brackets fixed to the western wall of the Room shows winged lions in a recumbent position (Nos. 248, 249).

169, 171, 181, 224, 225, 239.—The dwarf pilasters PILASTERS kept in the showcases are typical of those used in Gandhāra buildings. They are a crude adaptation of the Corinthian order, bearing decorations in relief on two faces, some with meditative figures of the Buddha seated on a high lotus-seat, and others with a standing Buddha figure between two devotees.

172, 173, 178-180, 194, 250-253.—Among other objects STONE kept here attention may be drawn to the fragments of UMBRELLAS circular stone umbrellas with floral decoration on the AND SEATS

inner side, which must have surmounted stūpas or images (Nos. 172, 179, 194). Along with them are displayed detached portions of lotus-seats of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. These fragments represent the lower members of the seats and are pierced with a hole in the centre for fixing a tenon (Nos. 178, 173, 180). A few examples of the same are also kept on a bench along the western wall of the Room (Nos. 250-253).

THE CENTRAL STŪPA

Finally, the visitor should re-enter the quadrangle of showcases and study the votive stūpa (No. 412) in the centre of the Room (Pl. XIV). This stūpa, which is partially restored, is typical of the stūpas of Gandhāra. Its hemispherical dome, consisting of a number of superimposed circular drums, stands on a projecting terrace and is crowned by a series of umbrellas gradually diminishing in size towards the top. Under the terrace is the square basement of the stūpa, divided into panels representing scenes from the Buddha's life, each scene separated from the other by an Indo-Corinthian pilaster. Two of the circular drums are also divided into panels: the lower one shows a series of seated Buddhas arranged between small trees, while the upper one has a row of dwarfish male figures, evidently children, standing between trees. On the eastern side, the dome of the stūpa has a relief divided into three panels, under a trefoil arch, the uppermost panel containing the alms-bowl of the Buddha.

SCENES ON THE STŪPA

Among the panels of the dado, we can readily recognize, on the western face, the Dream of Māyā, her Miraculous Conception and the Interpretation of the Dream by the sage Asita. On the northern

face may be recognized the scenes relating to the Birth of the Bodhisattva in the Lumbini garden and also the Bathing of the new-born Child, although here the panels are very much damaged and a large part of the stone has flaked off. On the eastern face, the story is continued : the Mother and Child are being taken in a palanquin from Lumbini to Kapilavastu, and in the Palace, whither the child Bodhisattva is brought, the sage Asita appears once again in the role of a soothsayer, predicting his future greatness. On the south, the Bodhisattva on horseback is leaving Kapilavastu ; and in a panel to the left, he has dismounted, removed the princely garments and ornaments from his person, and is taking leave of his devoted servant, the groom Chhandaka.

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NUMERICAL INDEX

[NOTE.—The principal Gandhāra Collections in the Indian Museum are: CUNNINGHAM, G. 1-177; DELMERICK, P. 4.P.-18; COLE, Nos. 2321-2591; CADDY, Nos. 4820-5557; LOAN FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Nos. N. S. 3860-3925, 3934-3938 4064-4066, 4077-4106, 4113-4123, 4127, and 8117-8140. A dash under 'Register Number' indicates that the original Museum number is wanting. Some of the specimens have not been referred to in the Guide, in which case blank space is left in the 'Page' column. The measurements noted under 'Size' are generally height by breadth, and in some cases only height. Other dimensions are specified.]

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170	—	Unknown	8·5"×8"	..
171	G. 122	Jamalgarhi	1·75"×9"×8"	115
172	—	Unknown	10"×2' 10"	115
173	—	Do	1' 1" diam.	115
174	2556	Upper Monastery, Nathu	7·5"×2' 11·5"	9, 114
175	5452	Loriyan Tangai	8·5"×1' 4"	114
176	G. 87	Jamalgarhi	1' 5"×7"	..
177	2415	Koi Tangi	5·75"×1' 5"	114
178	—	Unknown	1' 3" diam.	115
179	—	Do	1' 10"×1' 6"	115
180	5491	Loriyan Tangai	10·5" diam.	115
181	5455	Do	1' 6·75"×9"×9"	115
182	5202, 5203	Do	8·5"×3' 6"	113
183	5426	Do	3·5"×2' 5"	115
184	5226	Do	4"×1' 2"	115
185	5440	Do	6·5"×10·5"	..
186	5442	Do	6·5"×10·5"	..
187	5442	Do	6·5"×1' 5"	..
188	5552	Do	1' 6"×6·5"	114
189	5436	Do	6·5"×1' 8·5"	

Serial Number	Register Number	Provenance	Size	Page
190	—	Loriyan Tangai (Caddy Collection)	5·5"×1' 10"	115
191	5551	Do	4·75"×1' 8·5"	..
192	—	Unknown .	4·5"×1' 7"	115
193	—	Do	4"×1' 8·5"	..
194	—	Do	1' 5·5" diam.	116
195	5420	Loriyan Tangai	7·5"×7"	114
196	2516	Unknown (Cole Collection)	9"×1' 4·5"	114
197	G. 90	Jamalgarhi	8"×10"	114
198	G. 91	Do	6"×8"	114
199	G. 89	Do	7"×9"	115
200	5205	Loriyan Tangai	5·25"×1' 8"	114
201	2515	Mian Khan	8·5"×1' 1·5"	114
202	2514	Do	8·5"×1' 1·5"	114
203	5480	Loriyan Tangai	9·5"×6"	..
204	5075	Do	1' 1·5"×8"	115
205	—	Unknown	5"×1'	..
206	5331	Loriyan Tangai	11"×1' 2"	115
207	5349	Do	4·25"×9"	..
208	5196	Do	1'×1' 9"	115
209	5197	Do	1'×1' 3"	115
210	5437	Do	4·5"×1' 7"	115
211	—	Unknown	4·5"×5·5"×1' 7" long	113
212	G. 161	Jamalgarhi	5"×7"×1' 9" long	113
213	—	Unknown	3·5"×1' 10"	..
214	G. 105	Jamalgarhi	3"×1' 7"	..
215	—	Lorian Tangai (Caddy Collection)	5·25"×2' 2·5"	114
216	G. 151	Jamalgarhi	5"×2' 4·5"	114
217	2353	Unknown (Cole Collection)	6·5"×1' 3"	114
218	8126	Unknown (McMahon Collection)	1' 1"×9"	..
219	2459	Uncertain (Cole Collection)	6·25"×2·5"	..
220	G. 160	Jamalgarhi	6·5"×2·25"	..
221	—	Unknown	5"×1' 4·5"	115

Number	Provenance	Size	Page
222	2426	Uncertain (Cole Collection)	6"×11"
223	—	Unknown	5"×3' 2"
224	5466	Loriyan Tangai	11·5"×5·5"
225	5456	Do	1' 7"×9"
226	—	Unknown	3"×7"
227	—	Do	5·5"×8"×1' 10" long
228	5407	Loriyan Tangai	9"×2·5"
229	5407	Do	10"×3"
230	5422	Do	3"×1' 7·5"
231	5446	Do	4·5"×8"
232	2429	Uncertain (Cole Collection)	6·25"×11·5"
233	8137	Unknown (McMahon Collection)	11·5"×4·25"
234	—	Unknown	7"×3·5"
235	2586	Uncertain (Cole Collection)	7"×3·5"
236	—	Unknown	5·5"×1' 4·5"
237	5204	Loriyan Tangai	5·25"×1' 3·5"
238	5205	Do	5·25"×1' 3·5"
239	5457	Do	1' 7"×9"
240	5496	Do	5·25"×9"
241	G. 177	Jamalgarhi	8"×6"×2' 10" long
242	—	Loriyan Tangai (Caddy Collection)	5·5"×1' 6·5"×3' 2" long
243	—	Unknown	7"×8"×2' 4" long
244	—	Do	4·5"×6·5"×1' 7·5" long
245	G. 158	Jamalgarhi	4·75"×6·5"×1' 9·5" long
246	5080	Loriyan Tangai	2"×1' 7"
247	5080	Do	2"×1' 7"
248	5417	Do	5·5"×4·5"×2' 2" long
249	5416	Do	5·5"×4·5"×1' 10" long
250	—	Unknown	4·75"×diam. 1' 5"
251	—	Do	4"×diam. 1' 5"
252	—	Do	4·5"×diam. 1' 1·5"
253	—	Do	4"×diam. 1' 4"
254	4901	Loriyan Tangai	5' 4·5"×2' 2"
255	N. S. 3938	Sahribahlol	5'×1' 9"
256	4905	Loriyan Tangai	4' 6"×1' 5"

Serial Number	Register Number	Provenance	Size	Page
257	—	Unknown	4' 2" x 1' 4.5"	84
258	4908	Loriyan Tangai	3' x 1'	84
259	G. 125A	Jamalgarhi	2' 10" x 1'	84
260	4915	Loriyan Tangai	2' 6" x 9.5"	84
261	4913	Do	2' x 10"	84
262	4865	Do	1' 7.5" x 1'	80
263	4896	Do	1' 11" x 1' 3.5"	81
264	4897	Do	1' 11.5" x 1' 3.5"	81
265	4846	Do	2' 11" x 1' 9"	80
266	4820	Do	4' x 2' 6.5"	78
267	N. S. 3936	Sahribahlol	4' 2.5" x 2' 8.5"	78
268	N. S. 3937	Do	3' 6" x 1' 9.5"	78
269	4834	Loriyan Tangai	2' 2" x 1' 3"	..
270	4825	Do	2' 4.5" x 1' 4.5"	78
271	N. S. 3934	Sahribahlol	3' 8" x 2' 2"	77
272	4824	Loriyan Tangai	2' 7" x 1' 5.5"	78
273	4838	Do	2' 5" x 1' 4"	77
274	4837	Do	2' 3" x 1' 5.5"	76
275	4655	Do	1' 11.5" x 1' 3"	79
276	4861	Do	1' 1" x 1' 4.5"	79
277	4857	Do	2' x 1' 2"	79
278	N. S. 3935	Sahribahlol	3' 7.5" x 2' 6"	77
279	4860	Loriyan Tangai	2' 4.5" x 1' 3"	79
280	4839	Do	2' 1" x 1' 2"	77
281	4833	Do	2' x 1'	77
282	4827	Do	2' x 1' 1.5"	..
283	G. 149	Jamalgarhi	1' 5" x 10"	91
284	4946	Loriyan Tangai	2' x 1' 3.5"	91
285	4978	Do	2' 2" x 1' 3"	94
286	—	Unknown	2' 4" x 1' 6.5"	..
287	4995	Loriyan Tangai	2' 1" x 1' 1.5"	94
288	4953	Do	2' 4" x 1' 5.5"	91
289	—	Do Caddy Collection)	1' 10.5" x 1' 5"	91
290	4993	Do	2' 2.5" x 1' 3.5"	93
291	4945	Do	1' 11.5" x 1' 3.5"	93

Serial Number	Register Number	Provenance	Size	Page
292	N. S. 3924	Takht-i-Bahi	2' 1"×1' 5"	93
293	4956	Loriyan Tangai	2' 1"×1' 4"	91
294	5010	Do	2' 4-5"×9"	89
295	G. 138	Jamalgarhi	2' 6"×11"	89
296	N. S. 3925	Sahribahlol	2' 7"×11-5"	93
297	5012	Loriyan Tangai	2' 8"×1' 1"	88
298	N. S. 3922	Sahribahlol	3' 1"×1'	92
299	3699	Mardan	3' 1"×1'	88
300	N. S. 3923	Takht-i-Bahi	3' 1-5"×1' 3"	88
301	—	Unknown	4'×1' 7"	87
302	—	Do	4' 5"×1' 7"	87
303	4961	Loriyan Tangai	1' 3-5"×10"	..
304	4957	Do	1' 9-5"×1' 5"	..
305	—	Unknown	1' 3-5"×7"	..
306	G. 132	Jamalgarhi	2' 6"×1'	89
307	N. S. 3920	Sahribahlol	2'×10"	95
308	—	Unknown	2'×1' 2"	92
309	G. 140	Jamalgarhi	1' 10"×1'	92
310	5000	Loriyan Tangai	2' 2"×9-5"	89
311	5006	Do	3' 2"×1'	89
312	4959	Do	1' 8"×10"	95
313	4964	Do	1' 9"×11-5"	..
314	5005	Do	3' 2"×1' 1"	90
315	—	Jamalgarhi (Cunningham Collection)	3' 2-5"×1' 1"	95
316	—	Unknown	2'×1' 1"	96
317	G. 142	Jamalgarhi	1' 8-5"×1' 3"	96
318	N. S. 3921	Sahribahlol	2' 2-5"×1' 1"	96
319	4960	Loriyan Tangai	2' 1-5"×1' 3-5"	..
320	4982	Do	3' 1-5"×1' 8-5"	94
321	4984	Do	1' 7-5"×1' 4"	..
322	4954	Do	3' 6-5"×1' 4"	..
323	4979	Do	11"×7-5"	96
324	4996	Do	1' 1-5"×8"	97
325	G. 150	Jamalgarhi	1' 7"×8"	90

Serial Number	Register Number	Provenance	Size	Page
326	2483	Upper Monastery, Nathu	1' 2" x 6"	90
327	5013	Loriyan Tangai	2' 4" x 8.5"	90
328	—	Jamalgarhi (Cunningham Collection)	6.5"	..
329	5509	Loriyan Tangai	6.5" x 8"	..
330	8140	Unknown (McMahon Collection)	5.5"	..
331	—	Unknown	1' 5" x 1' 1"	79
332	G. 145 a	Jamalgarhi	1' 7" x 7"	84
333	4843	Loriyan Tangai	1' 4.75" x 1' .5"	79
334	G. 148	Jamalgarhi	1' 4" x 10.5"	81
334 a	8124	Unknown (McMahon Collection)	9.5" x 6.5"	..
335	4871	Loriyan Tangai	1' 7" x 10"	80
336	3696	Mardan	1' 9.5" x 1' .5"	82
337	8119	Shah Dheri, Taxila	3' x 1'	85
338	4848	Loriyan Tangai	1' 5" x 10"	81
339	5097	Do	1' 11" x 1' 11"	85
340	2544	Koi Tangi	6.25" x 8"	85
341	—	Do (Cole Collection)	6" x 7"	85
342	5156	Loriyan Tangai	8.5" x 9.75"	85
343	2545	Koi Tangi	6.25" x 7.75"	85
344	5157	Loriyan Tangai	8.75" x 9.5"	85
345	5156	Do	8" x 1' 7"	85
346	5156	Do	8.5" x 1' 2"	85
347	G. 63	Jamalgarhi	9.5" x 8.75"	..
348	5158	Loriyan Tangai	9.5" x 1' 1"	..
349	2581	Mian Khan	8.5" x 1'	..
350	G. 6	Jamalgarhi	1' 2.25" x 1' 1"	..
351	5155	Loriyan Tangai	10.75" x 2'	..
352	2344	Lower Monastery, Nathu	6.75" x 10"	..
353	5324	Loriyan Tangai	8" x 10"	..
354	2343	Uncertain (Cole Collection)	9" x 7"	..
355	G. 27	Jamalgarhi	1' 8.5" x 1' 4.5"	69 note
356	G. 29	Do	1' 2.5" x 1' 6.5"	..
357	G. 175	Do	6" x 1' 5"	..

Serial Number	Register Number	Provenance	Size	Page
358	N. S. 4260	Unknown	7.5" x 1' 4"	..
359	—	Do	9.5" x 11.75"	..
360	5297	Loriyan Tangai	10.5" x 9"	..
361	5489	Do	5" x 1' 1"	..
362	—	Unknown	8" x 7.5"	..
363	—	Do	6.25" x 9"	..
364	G. 28	Jamalgarhi	8" x 3' 4"	..
365	—	Unknown (Cole Collection)	6" x 5.5"	21
366	5058	Loriyan Tangai	1' 1.5" x 11"	21
367	5078	Do	11.5" x 11"	21
368	2474	Uncertain (Cole Collection)	6" x 7"	21
369	5061	Loriyan Tangai	1' 8" x 1' 8"	21
370	8125	Unknown (McMahon Collection)	1' 7" x 1' 1.5"	21
371	2443	Uncertain (Cole Collection)	1' 2.5" x 1' 6.5"	21
372	4856	Loriyan Tangai	2' 2" x 1' 1"	21
373	P. 9	Near Peshawar	6"	110
374	N. S. 3904	Takht-i-Bahi	9" x 9.5"	110
375	P. 4C	Near Peshawar	5.5"	110
376	N. S. 3890	Sahribahlol	8"	110
377	N. S. 3907	Takht-i-Bahi	9"	110
378	N. S. 3902	Do	11" x 10"	110
379	N. S. 4113	Jaulian, Taxila	8"	110
380	N. S. 4121	Chir Tope, Taxila	7.5"	110
381	N. S. 3912	Takht-i-Bahi	5.5" x 1' 3"	110
382	N. S. 3893	Sahribahlol	7.25"	110
383	N. S. 4064	Sirkap, Taxila	5.5"	110
384	N. S. 3899	Sahribahlol	3"	110
385	N. S. 4127	Jaulian, Taxila	5.5"	110
386	P. 11	Near Peshawar	7"	110
387	P. 13	Near Peshawar	6.5"	110
388	N. S. 4065	Sirkap, Taxila	7.25"	110
389	N. S. 3911	Takht-i-Bahi	5"	110
390	N. S. 3888	Sahribahlol	5"	110
391	N. S. 4119	Jaulian, Taxila	4.75" x 3"	110

Serial Number	Register Number	Provenance	Size	Page
392	9240	Zinthara, Khyber Pass	8"	110
393	9241	Do	6"	110
394	9242	Do	6"	110
395	N. S. 4079	Chir Tope, Taxila	3·75"	110
396	N. S. 4081	Do	4"	110
397	9483	Unknown	6·5"	110
398	9484	Do	5"	110
399	8129	Unknown (McMahon Collection)	6"	..
400	N. S. 3917	Sahribahlol	9"	..
401	N. S. 3918	Do	8"	..
402	G. 143	Jamalgarhi	10"	..
403	G. 127	Do	6"	..
404	N. S. 3919	Sahribahlol	10·5"	..
405	—	Unknown	9·5"	..
406	N. S. 3914	Takht-i-Bahi	9·5"	..
407	—	Uncertain (Cole Collection)	9"	..
408	G. 120	Jamalgarhi	10"	..
409	N. S. 3913	Takht-i-Bahi	6·5"	..
410	5320	Loriyan Tangai	4·75"	..
411	5515	Do	9"	..
412	—	Do (Caddy Collection)	4' 9" x 2' 3" x 2' 3"	116

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b

The Buddha seated on throne



a



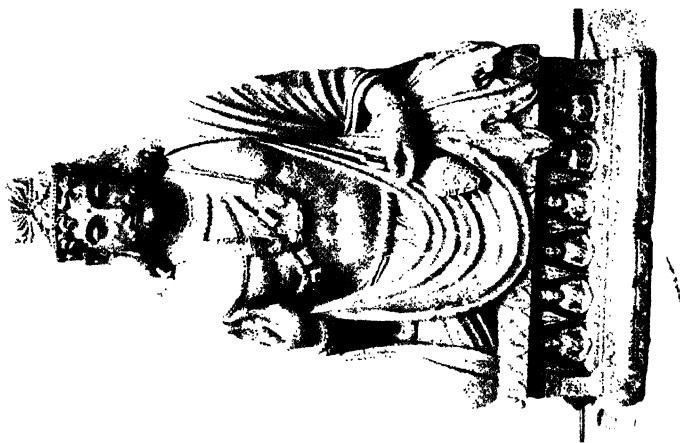
a The Buddha standing on lotus



b A Bodhisattva



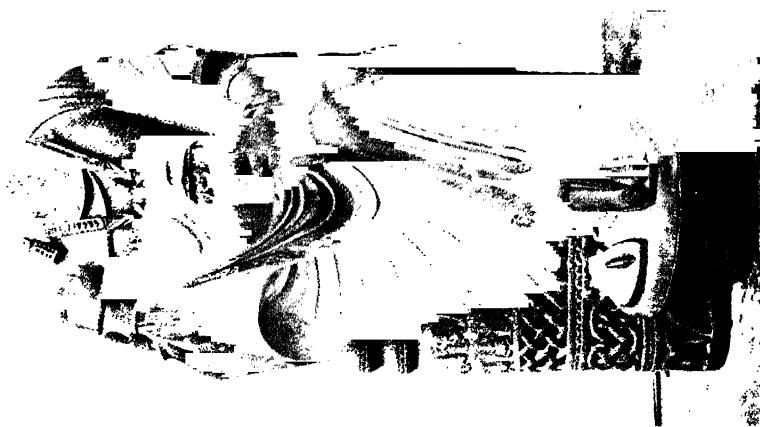
Bodhisattva Maitreya



a



b Bodhisattva Maitreya



a Bodhisattva Padmapani



a The Chandra-Kishmare-jataka

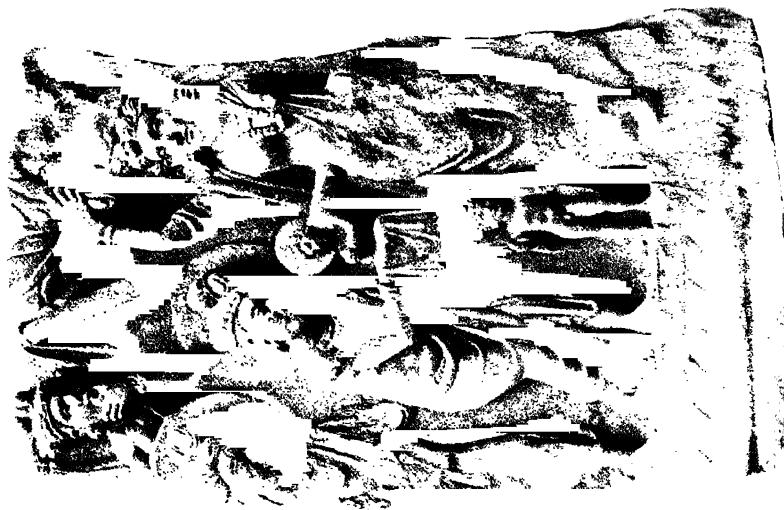


b The dog that barked at the Buddha

h Jyotishka coming out of the flames



a Birth of Granatama

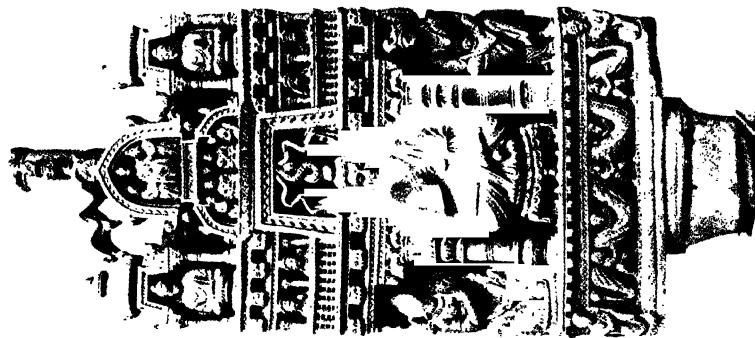




b. Gautama approaching the Bodhi Tree



a. The Great Renunciation



a Devadatta and the assassins



b The child of the dead woman



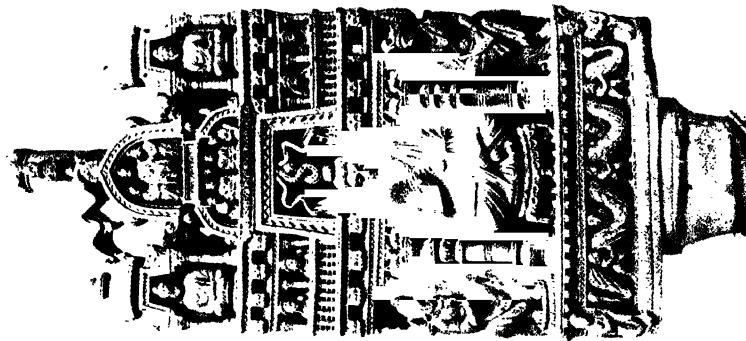
c The Great Miracle at Sravasti



a The First Sermon



b The Great Decease



a Devadatta and the assassins



b The child of the dead woman



The Great Miracle at Sravasti



a — The First Sermon



b — The Great Decease

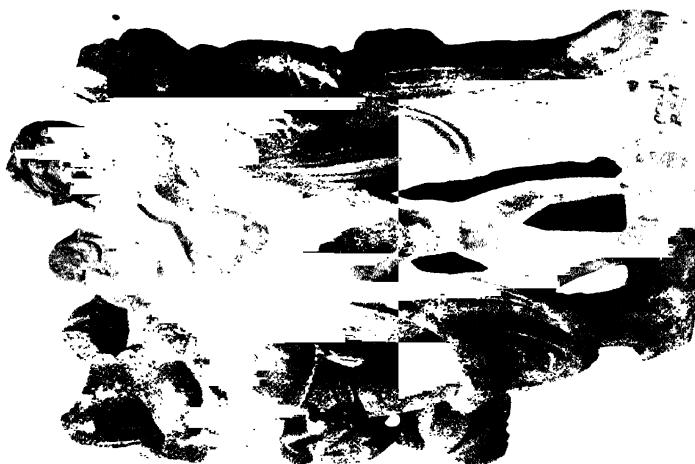


b. A lion-rider



c. The Buddha's coffin

b Hārtī and Pāñchika



a An Atlante





a A frieze of garland-bearers



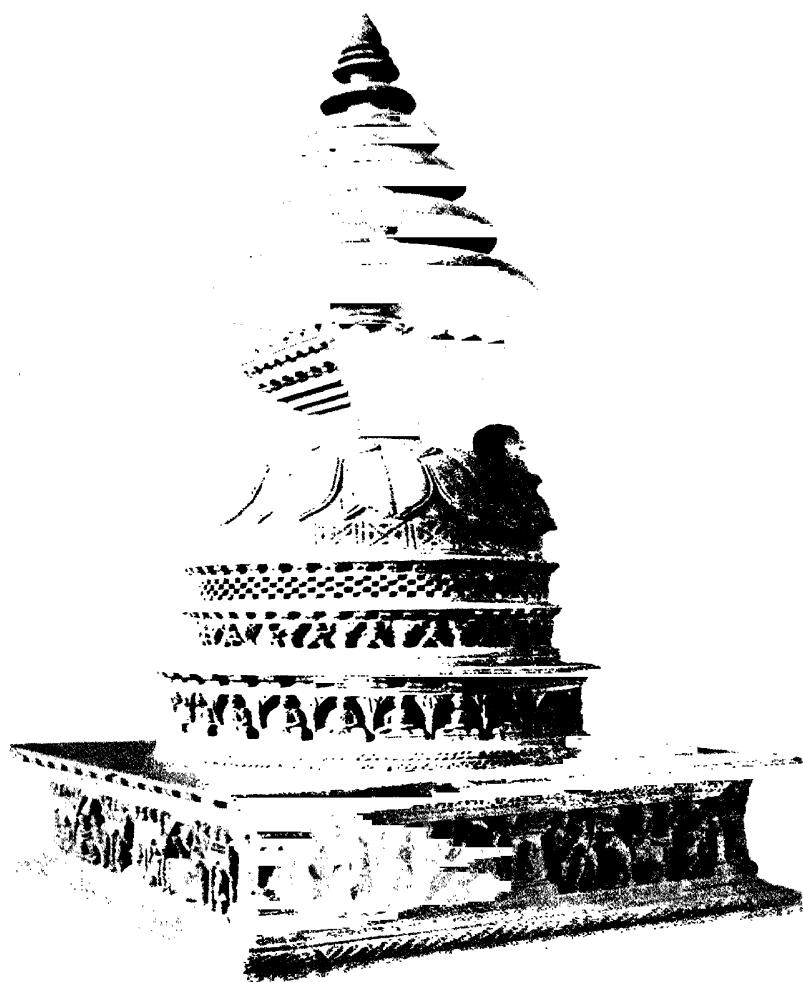
b An Indo-Corinthian Capital



a A frieze of garland-bearers



b An Indo-Corinthian Capital



A miniature stupa

